THE REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA

HERMAN G. JAMES
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THE REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA

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THE REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA

Their History, Governments and Economic Conditions

By

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OF LATIN AMERICA

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PREFACE

THE present book is an attempt to bring within the compass of a single volume an account of the history, government, and economic development of the twenty American republics lying south of the United States. To these nations the term Latin America or Hispanic America is applied. The term Spanish America is inexact and misleading, as it embraces only the eighteen states of Spanish origin. The expression Hispanic America—from *Hispania,* the name given by the Romans to the Iberian peninsula—is more accurate as it includes Portuguese-speaking Brazil. It ignores, however, the little Republic of Haiti, whose existence is due to France and whose present-day problems are of such serious concern to the United States. Despite certain well-founded objections to the use of the term it has seemed best to defer to current usage and include our sister republics under the blanket designation of Latin America.

As the title would indicate, the emphasis has been placed on the period subsequent to the achievement of independence. At the same time an effort has been made to describe the foundations on which the national life of the Latin-American states has been built. To an introductory chapter have been assigned such preliminary topics as the European background, the classification and distribution of the most important American Indian stocks with which the Spaniards and Portuguese came into contact, and the period of discovery and exploration. These topics are discussed with such brevity as is consistent with clearness. Thus in describing the European background attention is centered on those basic institutions which were subsequently adapted to New World conditions; while the European conquest, where the story for a time merges into the larger history of the Americas, is sketched only in the briefest outline. The somewhat more com-

prehensive treatment of the colonial period is largely confined to a discussion of the organs of colonial government, a survey of the economic and religious policies of the Spanish and Portuguese motherlands, and an analysis of social conditions, with particular attention to the relations of the colonists to the Indians. The wars of independence are taken up in a single short chapter. The subjects here stressed are the causes and preliminaries of the struggle, the significant military campaigns, the accomplishments of the two protagonists of the Revolution, Bolívar and San Martín, and the results of the contest. In connection with this last topic an attempt is made to indicate the obstacles confronting the new states on the threshold of their independent career.

Chapters IV to XII constituting the major portion of the text, are devoted to the history and institutions of the individual countries since the achievement of independence. The writers are aware that this method of presentation is not without its disadvantages. It is undeniable, for instance, that those countries whose language and traditions are derived from Spain have substantially the same type of civilization and that their history and development frequently reveal close parallels. With the method adopted occasional repetitions are therefore difficult to avoid. On the other hand, the majority of these countries, at least, have attained such a degree of separateness and have acquired such a strongly marked national individuality as to lend justification, in the judgment of the writers, to the plan followed in the present text. As far as possible the narrative has been kept unencumbered by the recital of minor events or by the introduction of personages of little consequence. Of the numerous civil wars and revolutions so characteristic of the earlier years of the nationalistic period only those have been stressed which left their impress on the political evolution of the countries concerned. Something over half of each of these chapters is given over to a detailed discussion of the constitutions, governments, political parties, and political conditions of the various republics. The existing constitutions are carefully analyzed and comparisons are made between the constitution under discussion and the constitutions of other

Latin-American countries and the United States. An attempt is made to discover to what extent existing governmental forms and processes are adapted to the conditions and needs of each particular country. The agreement or divergence—as the case may be—between the theory and practice of democratic institutions is pointed out, as are the frequent differences between the government as outlined in the formal Constitution and the government in operation. At the present time there exists no work in which the political institutions, and more specifically the government of the Latin-American states, are treated with equal fullness. Brief sections of the chapters are devoted to the physiography, population, and characteristic products of each country, while statistical summaries supply data on recent economic developments, particularly in the fields of transportation, trade, and commerce.

The concluding chapter consists of a somewhat detailed account of the international relations of the Latin-American states, with special reference to the development of the Monroe Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, and Latin America and the War.

This book has been prepared to meet the needs of college courses in the field of history or government, or in foreign trade courses of the schools of commerce, where an elementary knowledge of the historical background and the political systems, as well as the main features of commercial geography, are recognized as an essential basis.

The lists of selected readings are designed to be of service both to students and teachers and to the general reader. No attempt is made at completeness. Only such works as are readily available and have been found by actual experience to be satisfactory for classroom use and for general reference are included. For this reason comparatively few works in languages other than English are noted. At the same time the references are sufficiently extended to afford the individual instructor wide latitude in emphasizing either the historical or the governmental aspect of the subject as he may see fit. For the guidance primarily of the teacher and research student certain bibliographical suggestions are added which will enable them easily to get in touch

with important collections of sources, monographic material, and works on special periods or subjects.

The attempt to combine in a text of reasonable size satisfactory accounts of the history and government of our twenty sister republics is one whose difficulties the writers are the first to acknowledge. They willingly concede that few, if any, of their fellow teachers will be in complete agreement with the methods followed or the proportions assigned to each of the major topics. At the same time they venture to hope that the present work will prove of service not only to teachers and students, but also to that larger circle of general readers who are desirous of gaining an acquaintance with the achievements, institutions, and problems of our American neighbors.

H. G. J.
P. A. M.

April, 1923.

THE REPUBLICS OF LATIN AMERICA

CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND. THE NATIVE RACES. DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT

Purpose of the Chapter. The present chapter of our text is designed to serve as an approach to the somewhat detailed study of the history and institutions of Latin America. It includes such topics as a survey of the Spanish and Portuguese background, a brief discussion of the distribution and civilization of the most important pre-Columbian people with whom the Spanish and Portuguese explorers and colonists came into contact, and a summary of the period of discovery and exploration. Particular attention is devoted to those Iberian institutions which were transplanted to and took root in the New World.

The Physiography of the Iberian Peninsula: Its Historic Importance. Although the existence within the Iberian peninsula of two distinct nationalities is due, not to physiographic, but to historic causes the Spanish and Portuguese peoples have in the main been moulded by the same geographical influences. The very location of the peninsula has acted as such an influence. The Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea which all but surround it would naturally make for maritime expansion. On the other hand the lofty ranges of the Pyrenees on the north would tend to isolate the Iberian peoples from contact not only with France but also with the rest of Europe. Within the peninsula itself the most striking geographical features are the number and configuration of the mountain ranges and the vast expanses of dreary uniformity. The whole north central portion of the

peninsula is a semiarid plateau of such high elevation that next to Switzerland Spain has a greater average elevation than any other country in Europe. On the northeast this plateau rises into the mountain chain of the Pyrenees, while in the south it falls away to the rich plains of Andalusia. A number of minor mountain chains running generally east and west, and forming the valleys of the chief Spanish rivers—the Ebro, Douro, Tagus, Guadiana and Guadalquivir—divide the country into a number of sharply separated districts, differing in appearance, climate and resources. The extensive rivers, being for the greater part of their length unnavigable, have acted as barriers rather than as highways between these regions. These geographical and climatic conditions have been largely responsible for one of the most fundamental peculiarities of the Iberian peoples—the tendency toward diversification and separatism. This separatistic trend, this pronounced regionalism, runs like a red thread through the history of Spain and its influence extends even to Spanish America.

Racial Elements. Within the veins of the modern Spaniard and Portuguese flows the blood of a number of races widely separated in point of time and origin. The first to appear on the stage of history were the Iberians who at an unknown date, but probably as early as 2000 B. C., crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and conquered or absorbed the primitive neolithic population. Regarding the Iberians we know very little. They probably belonged to the Mediterranean race and were closely related to the Berbers of northern Africa. There is some reason to believe that the Basques, who for centuries have preserved their racial identity in the mountain fastnesses of northern Spain, are direct descendants of these Iberians. Much later (according to Altamira between the fourth and sixth centuries B.C.) came the Celts as a part of that great western migration which so profoundly affected the racial complexion of Western Europe. The Celts mingled with the Iberians and the resultant racial mixture is frequently spoken of as the Celt-Iberian. It is this racial stock which has so largely entered into the composition of

the Spaniard of historic times. The Phœnicians, the Greeks and the Carthaginians, who successively gained a foothold in the peninsula during the period from the eleventh to the second century B.C., were neither sufficiently numerous nor widespread to leave any clearly marked racial or cultural heritage. The same could not be said of their successors, the Romans. After driving out the Carthaginians the Romans held sway in Spain for six centuries. Not only did their language form the basis of the later Spanish and Portuguese; not only did they bequeath to Spain and Portugal imposing monuments in the shape of bridges, aqueducts, and highways, but their influence in the domain of law, religion, and even political institutions was deep and permanent. With the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the peninsula was overrun by a number of Germanic tribes, one of which, the Visigoths, maintained its foothold for three centuries. But the Visigoths constituted a minority of the population, and cut off as they were from re-enforcements, they gradually succumbed to the superior civilization of the Hispano-Romans. The language, religion, and to a certain extent the laws of the conquered were adopted by the conquerors.

The Moorish Invasion and the Reconquest. The most important single event in the mediæval history of the Iberian peninsula was the Moorish invasion of 711. Within the space of a few years the Saracens conquered practically all of the present Spain and Portugal, crossed the Pyrenees, and were only stopped in their onward march by the Frankish chieftain Charles Martel at Tours in 732. Meanwhile a handful of Gothic nobles, entrenched in the fastness of Asturias, defied the invaders, and implanted the seeds of the kingdom of Castile and León. From this humble beginning dates that great movement known as the *reconquista* or reconquest in which the energies of the Christian inhabitants of the peninsula were to a large extent absorbed during the next five centuries. Only a few of the more striking results of the Moorish occupation and Christian reconquest can here be touched upon. The history of mediæval Castile has been well described as first and foremost the history of a crusade. Yet in spite of

the antagonism between Christian and Moslem, intermarriage, especially during the frequent intervals of peace, was not unusual and another element was added to the population of the peninsula. The reconquest further accentuated the isolation of Spain and Portugal from the rest of Europe. Engrossed in the task of driving back the Moors, the Hispanic Christians did not participate in the Crusades to the Holy Land nor were they affected by the scholastic movement. The reconquest perpetuated and intensified ecclesiastical influence. The clergy gained in wealth and power through their unflagging support of the warfare against the infidel. The newly liberated Iberian kingdoms became the most ardent defenders of the Papacy and on several occasions paid homage to the Holy See. Nor was the reconquest without its social or political effects. The feudal system never flourished in Spain and Portugal as it did in France or Norman England. Serfdom could hardly strike deep root in a region where all the able-bodied men were needed to fight the Moslems. Since walled towns alone afforded protection against the Moors life became concentrated in the cities; the latter days of the reconquest synchronized with the heyday of the city republics or communes. Five centuries of intermittent warfare was bound to have a brutalizing effect on the participants. Spanish knights not infrequently kept their mounts in their rooms, in order that they might be at all times ready for attack or defense. Though examples of chivalry are by no means rare the struggle was often characterized by cruelty and inhumanity. The Spanish and Portuguese nobles came to look down upon manual labor, especially when practiced by the captive Moor. Thus arose the Spanish *deshonor del trabajo* or contempt for labor, which in time grew to the proportions of a distinct economic handicap to the Hispanic peoples.

The Emergence of Spain as a Great Power. As we approach the end of the Middle Ages it will no longer be possible to treat the peninsula as a unit. Our attention will first be directed to Spain as the larger and more important of the Iberian nations. The period from the union of Castile and Aragon, resulting from

the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, to the abdication of the Emperor Charles V[1] in 1556, represents the greatest epoch in the history of Spain. It witnessed the merging of a number of weak, ill-governed states into a compact whole ruled over by a dynasty of powerful and able rulers. Coincident with this process of unification and centralization came the emergence of Spain from her mediæval isolation, not only as one of the foremost powers of Europe but as the head of the greatest colonial empire the world had thus far known.

Prior to the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain was made up of a congeries of states, differing one from another in customs, laws, administrative system, and in some cases language, and all reflecting that tendency toward diversification and separatism so characteristic of Spanish history.

When, in 1474, Isabella succeeded her brother to the throne of Castile, the monarchy possessed neither credit nor power. Brigandage, baronial arrogance, civil war among the great nobles, plots against the crown, were among the problems with which the young queen and her consort had to cope. Fortunately the "Catholic Sovereigns" *(Reyes Católicos)* as Ferdinand and Isabella were called, were equal to the emergency. They were both rulers of unusual ability, and to their qualities of statesmanship was added, in the case of Isabella, at least, a singularly gracious and magnetic personality. Both rulers realized that their most immediate and pressing task was to evolve some kind of order out of the existing anarchy. The sovereigns believed that if the royal authority was to enjoy permanent respect some regular system of suppression must be devised. Fortunately the necessary instrument was at hand. In the latter middle ages various cities and communes had organized leagues of self-defense known as brotherhoods or *hermandades.* These leagues had been employed not only to punish crime but also to protect the cities against the encroachments of neighboring nobles or even royal officials. The Catholic Monarchs determined to make

[1] Although this ruler is known as Charles I in Spain it seems advisable to follow the current usage and employ his imperial title of Charles V.

the hermandad a national institution. In 1476 the Cortes[1] agreed to the creation for a period of three years of a *santa hermandad* or "holy brotherhood." In point of organization and efficiency this new body was far superior to its predecessor. Its nucleus consisted of two thousand horsemen, always under arms, and placed at strategic points along the highways. Criminals and malefactors were pursued without mercy. The hermandad anticipates in certain features the extraordinarily efficient *rurales* or mounted police under President Díaz in Mexico.

The Organization and Increase of Royal Authority. The suppression of disorder was only a preliminary step in the organization of the monarchy on a firm and lasting foundation. As a result of the weakness of Isabella's predecessors the resources of the crown had been dissipated and the royal revenues were now entirely inadequate for the needs of the monarchy. The Cortes of Toledo in 1480 proved in the words of a contemporary "a God-given means of remedy and reformation for past disorders." At this gathering the great nobles and churchmen were induced to restore to the crown many of the estates, pensions, and endowments so lavishly granted by former sovereigns. All told the nobles lost and the crown gained through these resumptions an annual revenue of 30,000,000 maravedis. Another and most important increase of the royal revenue came through the annexation of the grand masterships of the three great military orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara. During the course of the three preceding centuries these orders had become enormously wealthy and their grand masters were among the most powerful nobles in Europe. Not only were the orders' wealth and power a menace to the monarchy, but their usefulness had ceased with the virtual completion of the reconquest. By means of persuasion and pressure Ferdinand induced all three of the orders to elect him as grand master and eventually they were incorporated into the crown of Castile.

[1] The Cortes, the Spanish analogue of the English Parliament, though flourishing in the latter Middle Ages, fell into disuse under the Catholic Sovereigns and had no influence on colonial administration. It is therefore omitted in our survey.

As time went on an increasing share of the royal revenue was raised from taxation. Of these taxes one of the most lucrative was the *alcabala* or tax on commercial transactions. Ferdinand and Isabella regarded it as one of the most important features of their system. It was definitely fixed at ten per cent, or compounded for by a lump sum by the municipalities. This tax, whose blighting effect on trade and industry is obvious, was later introduced by Spain into the colonies and lasted down to the end of the colonial régime. Another tax, likewise carried over into America where it remained to vex the colonies until the beginning of the nineteenth century, was the *Bulla de la Cruzada.* As originally issued, on the occasion of the war against Granada, it was strictly voluntary, but soon became general and compulsory. While taxes under the Catholic Sovereigns were comparatively mild—in this respect presenting a striking contrast to conditions under the later Hapsburgs—Ferdinand and Isabella never rose to the conception that the interests of the taxed and taxers were in the final instance identical.

Certain other measures by which the royal power was consolidated deserve to be noted. Perhaps the most efficacious means of building up a centralized and absolutist government were the various royal councils. Prior to the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Council of Castile had been an ill-defined body consisting of some twelve members recruited largely from the ranks of the great nobles and higher clergy. Though theoretically its attributions were limited to offering advice and counsel, in reality it acted as an effective check on the crown. In 1480 the council underwent a total reorganization. Most of the nobles and clergy were ousted or deprived of the right to vote. In their place were appointed eight or nine new members known as *Letrados* or lawyers. This latter class were men trained in the Roman law. Of humble birth, they were firmly devoted to the interests of the crown and did all in their power to further the idea of absolute monarchy. The duties of the council were multifarious. As in most of the Spanish organs of government, there were no sharp distinction between functions which in other

countries are kept carefully separated. It was thus a legislative, administrative, and judicial body. It initiated legislation with the consent of the crown. It advised the king in regard to important appointments. As the supreme court of justice in Castile, it heard appeals from the great regional tribunals or *audiencias*. Early in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the increasing complexity of administration caused the council to delegate some of its functions to committees which in turn became autonomous councils on their own account. Thus arose the Council of Justice, which took over the legislative and judicial functions of the older body; the Council of State, which dealt primarily with foreign affairs, and the Council of Finances. With the expansion of the power of the monarchy it was necessary to create entirely new councils. Thus came into existence the Council of the Hermandad; the Council of the Suprema, or of the Inquisition; the Council of the Military Orders; the Council of Aragon; and the Council of the Indies. An account of the powers and functions of this last body, which exercised control over Spanish administration in the New World, will be found in the chapter devoted to the Spanish colonial system.

The Audiencias. An institution which was destined to exercise great influence both in Spain and in Spanish America was the audiencia. The term first appears toward the end of the fourteenth century as applied to an ambulatory court attached to the king. Under the Catholic Sovereigns the powers and scope of this body were more clearly defined. In 1480 it was definitely established at Valladolid, as a tribunal enjoying both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The growth of the royal power and the desire of the crown to relieve the Council of Castile of its judicial duties led in 1494 to the foundation of an additional audiencia, at Ciudad Real, with jurisdiction throughout New or Lower Castile. In 1505 the body was transferred to Granada. Subsequently minor audiencias were created in Galicia and Navarre. The system of audiencias was transported to America where it underwent certain developments unknown to Spain.

The Adelantados. Among the various mediæval institutions

which succumbed before the centralizing and absolutist policy of the Catholic Sovereigns was the *adelantado.* Under Saint Ferdinand, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the various provinces into which Castile was divided were governed by royal officials known as adelantados. In time of peace their duties were chiefly judicial; in time of war, military. Though nominally appointive these offices tended to become hereditary. Fearful lest the adelantados, who were generally recruited from great nobles, might thwart the authority of the crown, Ferdinand and Isabella reduced their power to a mere shadow, although the office long continued to exist. It is worthy of note that the title of adelantado was given to Columbus, Pizarro, and several other of the early Spanish explorers as most in harmony with their duties as military governors of newly discovered regions.

The Municipalities. Another institution whose origin goes back to the early history of Castile—and in the opinion of some writers even to Roman times—was the municipality. The growth of town or city life in Castile followed closely on the heels of the reconquest. As the Moslem tide receded inducements were held out to the Christians to settle in the towns wrested from the Moors. The rights of the citizens were guaranteed by charters or *fueros,* some of which date back to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Among the most important of such rights was that of electing municipal magistrates. The freemen who had the suffrage—usually heads of families and property owners —formed the *concejo.* From this body were elected the *alcaldes* or municipal judges, the *alguaciles* or municipal police officers, and finally the *regidores,* who served as general administrative officials. This entire body of magistrates was known collectively as the *ayuntamiento* or *cabildo.* The halcyon days of the municipalities were in the thirteenth century. They were virtually self-governing republics and in point of opulence and splendor may well compare with the city states of mediæval Flanders or Italy. The power and independence of these cities aroused the apprehension of the crown which as early as the fourteenth century began to encroach on the attributes of the concejo.

Under Ferdinand and Isabella this tendency was naturally accentuated. In various ways the crown secured control of the cabildos, chiefly through the agency of royal officials known as *corregidores.* At the same time many of the more important offices were put up for sale or became hereditary. The cabildo, though shorn of many of its former powers, was carried over into America, where it played an important part in colonial life, as it afforded the colonists their sole opportunity for practice in self-government.

The Corregidores. As already intimated one of the agencies employed by the monarchy in strengthening its influence in local affairs was the corregidor. All of Castile was divided into *corregimientos*—of which eventually there were sixty-six—over which these officials were placed. They were instructed to watch closely the local finances and secure the impartial administration of justice. In the words of Professor Merriman they were the "omnicompetent servants of an absolute king."[1] The corregidor appears in the New World in a somewhat different guise. In the viceroyalty of Peru for instance his chief obligation was to safeguard the rights and interests of the Indian population.

The Residencia. The desire on the part of the crown to prevent any abuse of the accumulation of powers in the hands of the corregidores is to be seen in the development of a peculiar institution known as the *residencia.* During the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns the corregidor was obliged to remain at his post for thirty days after the expiration of his appointment in order that complaints might be brought against him and injustice be redressed. The conduct of the affair was turned over to a special magistrate known as the *Juez de Residencia,* who was to report his findings to the Council of Castile. Elaborate precautions were taken to prevent fraud and collusion. Later the residencia was extended to other officials. It reappeared in America as one of the most characteristic features of Spanish colonial policy, being employed in the case of the highest officials including the viceroys.

[1] *The Rise of the Spanish Empire,* ii, page 149.

Efforts Toward Political Unification. The Catholic Monarchs aimed not only at the consolidation of the power of the crown but also at the completion of the territorial unity of the Iberian peninsula. Although the union of Castile and Aragon was a long step in this direction much remained to be done. The independent kingdom of Granada was the first to claim their attention. Though small in area this Moorish state was wealthy, warlike, and owing to its location in the mountains of southern Spain, was admirably provided with means of defense. For eleven years (1481-1492) Ferdinand and Isabella carried on the struggle with varying success. Their final victory was due fully as much to the dissensions among the Moors as to the perseverance and bravery of the Spaniards. By the terms of the capitulation, the Moslems were to remain unmolested in their religion, to be governed by their own laws, and to be exempt for three years from taxes on real or personal property. Those who wished to leave Spain might do so at public expense. With the entry of the Spanish army into Granada in January, 1492, was completed the last chapter of the Christian reconquest. In the following year Ferdinand was able through friendly negotiations with the king of France to recover, after a separation of thirty years, the two northern provinces of Catalonia, Cerdagne and Roussillion. The little kingdom of Navarre balanced on the Pyrenees had long been an object of contention between France and Aragon. Through a combination of treachery, astute diplomacy, and military force, the wily Ferdinand secured possession of Navarre in 1512. With the exception of Portugal all of the Iberian peninsula was now under the Spanish crown.

Church and State Under the Catholic Sovereigns. In spite of their unquestioned and even fanatical orthodoxy, Ferdinand and Isabella refused to permit the supremacy of the state to be challenged in any manner by the church. Above all did they resent any attempt on the part of the Papacy to dictate in the appointments to the higher ecclesiastical offices. As the result of considerable pressure, Pope Sixtus IV issued in 1482 a concordat in which he formally acknowledged the right of the crown

to make nominations to all ecclesiastical sees in Spain with the exception of three bishoprics. As will be pointed out later, the crown insisted upon and maintained the right of patronage of the church in America.

The subordination of the church to the state should not blind us to its enormous influence on the moral, social, and even economic life of Spain. The clergy possessed wealth and power out of proportion to their number. Through royal gifts and pious donations some of the most fertile and productive land in Spain had come into their hands. This property was largely exempt from taxation. The tithe, levied on all the products of the fields, was a heavy burden on agriculture. The revenues and emoluments of the higher clergy were enormous. The forty bishoprics and seven archbishoprics, into which Spain was divided, enjoyed an income of 476,000 ducats (over $7,000,000), of which the archbishop of Toledo, the primate of Spain, received 80,000 ($1,200,000). According to Altamira the rents of the secular clergy amounted to some 4,000,000 ($60,000,000). The large number of monasteries tempted many able-bodied men to withdraw from agriculture and industry, while the multiplication of religious holidays tended to discourage thrift. There is reason to believe that the excessive power and influence of the clergy were among the factors in Spanish decadence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As noted in the following chapter the same problems arose in Spanish America.

The Inquisition. No institution of the period has given rise to more violent controversy than the Inquisition, and there still exist many misconceptions regarding its origin and functions. The primary purpose of the Inquisition, as introduced into Castile, was to "further the projects of union and centralization on which the internal policy of the Catholic Kings was founded." Among the first essentials to the unity of the state was, in the opinion of the pious Isabella, unity and purity of faith. At the beginning of the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns there existed in Castile in addition to a considerable number of orthodox Jews several thousand Christianized Jews, or *conversos,* who had

embraced Catholicism to escape death or expulsion. It was to deal with these conversos, whose orthodoxy was open to suspicion, that the Catholic Sovereigns in 1487 secured from Sixtus IV permission to introduce the Inquisition into Castile.

This institution had nothing to do with the mediæval Inquisition founded in the thirteenth century by Gregory IX. Although this old, Papal Inquisition had been introduced into Aragon, it had taken no firm root and was quite unknown in Castile. The peculiarity of the new Spanish Inquisition, in the words of Lea, was "its combination of the mysterious authority of the Church with the secular power of the crown. The old Inquisition was purely an ecclesiastical institution. . . . In Spain, however, the Inquisition represented not only the Pope but the King; it practically wielded two swords—the spiritual and the temporal—and the combination produced a tyranny, similar in character, but far more minute and all-pervading, to that which England suffered during the closing years of Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church."[1]

The Spanish Inquisition then was created and largely controlled by the Catholic Sovereigns. The appointment and dismissal of all officials, from the Grand Inquisitor down, was reserved to the crown. The instructions issued to the inquisitors were supervised by the crown; the confiscations of the Holy Office were paid into the royal treasury. For the maintenance of the royal authority over the Inquisition there was created in 1484 a new council known as the *Suprema.* The influence of the Inquisition was extended by the erection of tribunals, of which eventually there were twenty-one in the motherland and the colonies.

It is a mistake to assume that the Inquisition was from the first popular in Spain. Despite frequent assertions to the contrary, the Spanish people were not fanatical and during the Middle Ages there existed—save as certain artificially fomented gusts of fanaticism swept the country—a large measure of liberality toward the Moors and Jews. The whole procedure of

[1] H. C. Lea, *The Inquisition in Spain,* i, page 289.

the Inquisition as revealed in the use of torture, the encouragement of anonymous denunciations, the unjust rules of evidence, the power and immunities of the Inquisition's agents, was well calculated to arouse fear and dislike. As time went on, however, the unpopularity of the Holy Office gradually diminished, and the Spaniards came to regard it as the jealous guardian of orthodoxy and nationality. Largely through its agency the Spaniards were converted "from the most tolerant to the most intolerant nation in Europe."[1] Both in Spain and Spanish America the Inquisition was entrusted with the censorship of books and manuscripts.

The Expulsion of the Jews. The avowed and professed Jews did not fall within the purview of the Inquisition. The hope of immunity from persecution as well as the privileges and opportunities for advancement open to conversos had led many Jews to embrace Christianity; but with the establishment of the Inquisition such conversions naturally ceased. The crown therefore was confronted with the dilemna of permanently harboring a minority alien in belief or expelling what were economically some of the most valuable elements in the population. Not until after the fall of Granada did the Catholic sovereigns accept the latter alternative. On March 30, 1492, was signed the fatal decree of expulsion. All the Jews in Castile and Granada were given three months to leave Spain. The exodus was accompanied by terrible hardships. The Jews were not permitted to carry away gold and silver; both time and means were lacking for the disposal of their property or collection of debts due them. Most of these unfortunates sought refuge in Portugal, Italy, and the Moorish States of North Africa; many found a welcome in Turkey. Even now a large section of the city of Salonica is given over to the Spanish-speaking descendants of these exiles. The total number of the Jews expelled has been variously estimated, but probably did not exceed 200,000, out of a total population of possibly 8,000,000. But like the Huguenots, who were driven out of France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes,

[1] Lea, *The Inquisition in Spain*, i, page 35.

they represented a loss far greater than their numbers would indicate. Among them were to be found physicians, scholars, men of affairs, skilled artisans—classes of which Spain stood particularly in need.

The Problem of the Moriscoes; Their Final Expulsion. During the course of the reconquest, large Moorish elements had been incorporated into Christian Spain until in certain districts, notably Valencia, they formed the bulk of the rural population. They were frugal, industrious, and much more skilled in agriculture and manufacturing than their Christian neighbors. Those who remained Moslems were known as *Mudéjares,* while the converted Moors—whose number steadily increased—were called *Moriscoes.* The conquest of Granada in 1492 brought many thousand Moors under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs. As already noted the terms of the capitulation of Granada were very liberal in character. But the increase in racial and religious antagonism, so exemplified in the expulsion of the Jews, coupled with Isabella's determination to secure the unity of faith in Castile at any cost, led to a violation of the treaty guarantees. Finally in 1502 Isabella issued an edict for the expulsion of unconverted Moors, or Mudéjares, from the kingdom of Castile. In reality, however, the edict was a sentence of conversion or death. By a refinement of cruelty the ports adjacent to Africa were closed to the Moors, while those available for embarcation were too remote to be reached within the allotted time. As a consequence the great bulk of the Mudéjares accepted conversion and as Moriscoes came within the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Though falling outside the limits of our survey the ultimate fate of this large Moorish population deserves to be noted. In 1525 under Charles V, the terms of the edict of 1502 were applied to Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia. But though religious uniformity was thus attained, racial unity was still lacking. In 1609 under Philip III the Moriscoes were expelled from Valencia and a portion of Castile, and, shortly afterward, from the remainder of the Spanish realm. At a time when Spanish industry and agriculture were suffering a fatal decline, Spain

thus banished from her shore a half million of her most skillful and faithful workers. It is unnecessary to add that neither the exiled Jews nor Moors were permitted to settle in any part of Spain's vast, thinly populated, overseas domain.

Population. Social Conditions. Estimates of the population of Spain on the accession of the Catholic Monarchs fluctuate between seven and a half and ten million. At the top of the social scale were the nobles. In spite of the loss of much of their former political power, they continued to share with the clergy a privileged position in the state. At the head of the nobility were the *grandes* (grandees) and the so-called *títulos* (literally "titles"). The most common titles were those of duke, count, and marquis. To the grandees was reserved the empty but highly esteemed privilege of remaining covered in the presence of the king. Many of the higher nobility were immensely wealthy, enjoying princely revenues from their great domains. From their ranks were recruited almost all of the higher civil and military officials in the Spanish Indies, such as the viceroys and captains-general.

The chief characteristic of the lower nobility—of which there were two ranks, the *caballeros* and the *hidalgos*—was their number. The rights of *hidalguía* were acquired by inheritance, by residence in a city recently conquered from the Moors, by purchase of royal patents, and in various other ways. According to Altamira, in 1541 there were less than 800,000 taxpayers in Castile, but over 100,000 hidalgos. Rich or poor the nobles had many privileges; they were exempt from the more burdensome taxes; they could not be imprisoned for debt, and were given preference in appointment to offices in church and state. Economically this swarm of nobles was a drag on the country. They were both indolent and proud; they disdained all kinds of manual labor and generally despised trade. On the other hand they made excellent soldiers and furnished many of the *conquistadores,* soldiers, and pioneers, whose exploits bulk so large in the early history of Spanish America.

The conditions of the middle and lower classes during the

reign of Ferdinand and Isabella were in the main prosperous. Such industries as the manufacture of silk and wool flourished in the larger cities. Commerce, both internal and foreign, grew rapidly, especially with the expansion of Spanish power into Italy and America. Agriculture was also in a flourishing condition. Serfdom which was widespread at the accession of the Catholic Sovereigns was practically abolished in 1480 in Castile and six years later in Aragon. There still persisted, however, a semifeudal institution called the *encomienda.* Free peasants or small landowners were accustomed to "commend" themselves to the protection of some powerful noble in the vicinity. As will be pointed out in the next chapter the encomienda was carried over into the New World, where it underwent an interesting development in connection with the forced labor of the Indians.

Spain's Preparation for a Colonial Career. When the first voyage of Columbus threw open to Spain the portals of a new world, probably no nation in Europe was better equipped to embark on a colonial career. Thanks to the statesmanship and ruthless energy of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain had risen from isolation and weakness to the position of one of the great powers of Europe. An absolute and all-powerful monarchy had been erected. All of the peninsula save Portugal had been united under a single dynasty capable of effectively employing for national ends the wealth and resources of the state. The conclusion of the Moorish wars supplied the crown with a soldiery aglow with something of the zeal of the crusader and admirably fitted, both by training and temperament, to win for Spain new domains beyond the sea. Although the causes of Spain's subsequent decline reach back into the sixteenth century the disastrous effects of the political, social, and religious policies of the successors of the Catholic Sovereigns, were not to appear until Spanish power and Spanish institutions had been firmly implanted in the New World. In the period under survey "the Spanish monarchy and nation had much of the reality as well as the appearance of greatness."[1]

[1] Cherey, *European Background of American History,* page 103.

Portuguese Origins. In many respects the development of Portugal parallels that of Spain. There are no natural boundaries between the two kingdoms. The Portuguese spring from practically the same stock as the Spaniards; their language differs only slightly from the Spanish. Prior to the eleventh century the history of Portugal merges into the larger history of Iberia. The appearance of Portugal as a separate state was an incident in the reconquest. Among the adventurers who flocked to Christian Spain to aid in the crusade against the Moors was Count Henry of Burgundy, who in 1095 married the daughter of the king of León. His wife's dowry included the little country of Portucalia, or Portugal, one of the frontier marches of Galicia. Owing to the chaotic conditions in León and Castile, the counts of Portugal were able to maintain their independence with such success that in 1140 Count Affonso Henriques assumed the title of king. During the next two and a half centuries, the Portuguese not only definitely won their freedom from Spain, but they extended their conquests southward at the expense of the Moors until they gained control of the Algarves, as the fertile region south of the Tagus was called. By the end of the fourteenth century, according to Stephens, "the people of Portugal had become more wealthy, more cultivated and more conscious of their nationality than almost any people in Europe."[1]

The Heroic Age of Portugal. The sudden emergence of Portugal, one of the smallest nations of Europe, to a position of a world power with a colonial domain truly imperial in extent, is one of the most striking phenomena in history. The chief causes which contributed to this result were Portugal's favorable location, at the southwest corner of Europe, with her extensive littoral and fine harbors; a dynasty of extraordinarily able rulers who seemed to have glimpsed Portugal's historic mission and were eager to further it in every way; a people, vigorous and hardy, and like the Spaniards aflame with martial ardor and the spirit of the crusader. King John I, the founder of the great dynasty of Aviz, saved Portugal from all danger of absorption

[1] *Portugal,* page 100.

by Spain at the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385. The international status of the rising state was vastly strengthened through the signing on the following year of the treaty of Windsor by which the kingdoms of Portugal and England were declared henceforth united in the closest bonds of friendship and alliance. Despite changes of dynasty, these close relations between the two countries have continued to this day. An account of the achievements of John's son, Prince Henry the Navigator, and of his most notable successors, John II, surnamed "the Prefect" (1481-1495) and Emanuel "the Fortunate" (1495-1521) brings us well into the period of maritime discovery which may more profitably be taken up in another connection. At this point, however, some account should be given of the internal political and social conditions in Portugal on the eve of her career as a colonial power.

Portuguese Institutions in the Fifteenth Century. As was to be expected in view of their similarity of origin, the political and social institutions of Portugal resembled those of Spain. The strong rulers of the dynasty of Aviz had, like the Catholic Monarchs, brought the nobility and clergy under their control and had erected a highly centralized government in which the rule of the crown was supreme. Like its Spanish analogue the Portuguese Cortes continued to meet when convoked by the king, but its functions were largely confined to furnishing advice and voting taxes. The Portuguese municipalities, though possessing privileges guaranteed by charters known as *foraes* (corresponding to the Spanish *fueros*), found their rights invaded by royal officials known as *corregedores.* Their elective judges were also being displaced in favor of royal judges called *juizes de fóra.* The nobles were numerous. Together with the members of the higher clergy they were owners of immense estates, many of which had been granted out of regions conquered from the Moslems. Those who received such grants were called *donatarios,* a term we shall meet later in Brazil. As in Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, the nobles had been deprived of their military power and tended more and more to live at court where

they might find honors and advancement at the hands of the king. At the end of the fifteenth century, the population of Portugal probably did not exceed one million. In its composition it was not dissimilar to that of Spain. The chief occupation was agriculture, although with the opening of the era of discoveries, increasing attention was paid to commerce and trade. The Moslems did not as in Spain form a distinct class of the population and Portugal never had to face the problem of the Moriscoes. The Jews on the other hand were numerous and powerful. At the behest of Ferdinand and Isabella, King Emmanuel expelled them in 1496; but the measure was not carried out with the thoroughness of the decree of 1492 in Spain. Jews who embraced Christianity in order to remain in Portugal were brought within the purview of the Inquisition which was established in 1536. But this institution never assumed the importance of the Holy Office in Spain and was not introduced into Brazil.

Under the great Aviz dynasty the character and aims of the Portuguese people underwent a change. The thirst for war, adventure, and conquest, was stimulated by the achievement of independence from Spain, by the long struggle to expel the Moors, and by the presence on Portuguese soil of foreign crusaders. The Portuguese nobles, inspired by a zeal both martial and religious, were seeking new realms to conquer. These tendencies toward expansion were skillfully utilized and encouraged by the members of the reigning family, of whom one, Prince Henry the Navigator stands out pre-eminent.

Portuguese Maritime Expansion. Prince Henry, one of the younger sons of John I, devoted the better part of his life to the furtherance of maritime exploration. His object was not so much to find an ocean route to India as to open trade with the interior of Africa, and establish communications with the Christian empire of "Prester John," a semimythical personage, probably to be identified with the ruler of Ethiopia. In his observatory and study on the promontory of Sagres in southern Portugal were to be found mathematicians and astronomers from all parts of Europe. Year after year his ships,

manned by trained and skillful mariners, crept down the African coast. Madeira and the Azores were rediscovered and colonized; in 1433 Cape Bojador was doubled, and the year following the first cargo of slaves was brought to Lisbon. Thus began a traffic in which Portugal and Brazil were to gain a melancholy renown. Before his death in 1460 Prince Henry's captains had discovered the Cape Verde Islands and explored the African coast as far as Senegal and Sierra Leone. Finally in 1486 Bartholomew Díaz passed the Cape of Good Hope and in 1498 Vasco da Gama sailed across the Indian Ocean to Calicut. Thus the Portuguese, thanks to the vision and perseverance of Prince Henry and the daring of the Portuguese seamen, had not only found the eastern route to the Indies but laid the foundations of a great empire in the East.

The Discovery of Brazil. Portuguese expansion in the New World came as an indirect result of the discovery of the new route to India. In March, 1500, a Portuguese noble named Pedro Alvarez Cabral left Lisbon for India with a fleet of thirteen ships. His sailing directions had been drawn up by da Gama. Probably in order to avoid the calms of the Gulf of Guinea he sailed so far to the westward that on April 22 he came in sight of the coast of Brazil. Ignorant of the magnitude of his discovery, he called the new land the "Island of the True Cross," a name soon changed to Brazil owing to the abundance of valuable dye wood which resembled the brazil wood of the orient. Cabral detached one of his ships to report the discovery to King Emmanuel who promptly took measures to strengthen his claims to these new lands.

Christopher Columbus. Meanwhile America had been discovered by a Genoese navigator in the service of Spain. The story of the life and achievements of Columbus have been so often rehearsed that no detailed account need be given here. The researches of scholars during the past forty years have tended to discredit many features of the traditional life of Columbus, as given for instance by Washington Irving. The date of his birth has been placed all the way from 1430 to 1456. Even the

generally accepted views regarding his birthplace and nationality have been challenged. A scholarly Spanish writer[1] has attempted to demonstrate that Columbus was not an Italian born at Genoa, but a Spaniard, possibly of Jewish extraction, born at Pontevedra in Galicia. Little is known of Columbus' early education. He probably attended one of the gild schools at Genoa. In some manner he acquired a knowledge of Latin, gained a wide familiarity with existing books of travel, and mastered those branches of mathematics bearing on navigation. He apparently was profoundly influenced by the "General History and Geography" of Aeneas Sylvius (later Pope Pius II) and the travels of Marco Polo. That he was acquainted with Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi* prior to his voyage of 1492 is problematical. His career as a sailor began early; about 1476 he took up his residence in Portugal, the mecca to which adventurous and ambitious seamen were naturally drawn. How or when Columbus reached his determination of reaching India by sailing westward is not clear. According to Fernando Columbus and Las Casas, the suggestion originally came from the Florentine geographer Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli, who sent the navigator sailing directions together with a chart on which the distance between the Canary Islands and eastern Asia was only thirty-two hundred miles. The historian Vignaud has denied the authenticity of the Toscanelli correspondence, claiming it to be a forgery of Columbus' brother Bartholomew. The admiral's motives, according to this writer, were not to seek a shorter route to the Indies by sailing westward, but to discover unknown lands, regarding which in various ways he had received rumors. The fact that by the terms of the agreement entered into by Columbus and the Catholic Sovereigns—the so-called Capitulations of Santa Fé—the admiral was to be viceroy and governor-general of all lands he might discover and enjoy one-tenth of the profits of such regions would seem to substantiate this view.

The Discovery of the New World. The story of Columbus' untiring and heroic efforts to secure a patron have been so often

[1] Rafael Calzada, *La Patria de Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1922).

related that they may be omitted here. Through the efforts of faithful friends, Queen Isabella was finally persuaded to support the undertaking. Of the cost of the expedition, which has been estimated at something like a hundred thousand dollars, the crown furnished perhaps half. At length on August 3, 1492, Columbus' little fleet of three ships sailed from Palos on the most memorable voyage in the world's history. On October 12 land was sighted. The landfall was one of the Bahamas, probably Watlings Island. Whatever may have been Columbus' previous views, he was now apparently convinced that he had reached the Indies. He accordingly called the copper-colored natives Indians. During the course of his voyage, the admiral discovered Cuba and Santo Domingo, the latter island being named Española. After many vicissitudes, including the loss of his flagship, Columbus returned to Spain, where he received the highest honors. The Catholic Sovereigns readily accepted Columbus' views that he had reached the outlying regions of the Indies, and at once set about to make their claims to these new lands effective.

The Line of Demarcation and the Treaty of Tordesillas. Since a series of papal bulls had granted the Portuguese the rights to such lands as might be found toward Guinea and the southward, there was a possibility of a clash between the Spanish and Portuguese sovereigns over the lands discovered by Columbus. Ferdinand and Isabella hastened to secure confirmation of their rights from the Pope. Alexander VI was a Valencian by birth and was more than willing to meet the wishes of the rulers of Spain. In his famous bulls of May 3 and 4, 1493, he recognized the existing rights of Portugal, but assigned to Spain all lands found or to be found west of an imaginary line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. King John of Portugal was not satisfied, as he felt Portuguese opportunities for expansion in the Atlantic were too closely limited. To lend force to his objections he assembled a powerful fleet as a possible menace to Columbus' discoveries. The Catholic Sovereigns were willing to make concessions, and by the term of the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed June 7, 1494, the demarcation line was moved

westward to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. This line strikes the coast line of South America near the mouth of the Amazon, and in connection with the discoveries of Cabral, served to secure for the Portuguese title to Brazil.

The Native Races. At this point it seems desirable to give a summary account of the distribution and civilization of the native races with which the Spaniards and Portuguese came into contact in their explorations and settlement of the New World. There is at present a fairly general agreement among scholars that the origin of the American Indian race is to be found in Asia. The time and circumstances of the migration are impossible to determine. Though falling well within the present geological era, it was sufficiently remote to permit the appearance of minor racial differentiations and the development of a large number of languages entirely distinct one from another. The wide variations in the types of culture found among the American aborigines were largely due to the difference in environment. Many of the Indians had not advanced beyond the stone age; some were familiar with the use of bronze; none of them smelted iron. Attempts at classification based on physical characteristics and states of cultural development have not been entirely satisfactory; at present ethnologists generally fall back upon language, each group of Indians using related tongues being characterized as a stock. Some twenty-nine linguistic stocks have been found in Mexico and Central America and some eighty in South America. In our survey only the most important will be considered.

The Nahuas. On the arrival of the Spaniards the Nahuas occupied those portions of Mexico between Tampico on the north and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec on the south. According to their own traditions, the first Nahua tribes came from the north in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. Among the later arrivals were the Aztecs or Mexicans who some time in the fourteenth century founded the city of Tenochtitlan (Mexico). Through channels which are not entirely clear—possibly through

the semimythical Toltecs—the Nahuas derived from the Mayas many features of their civilization. On the eve of the conquest, the Aztecs were organized, with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans, into a confederacy whose power extended to the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific Ocean, and well down into Yucatan. The so-called Aztec Empire described in such glowing terms by the Spanish conquerors was, however, little better than a military overlordship, whose chief object was to levy tribute and collect victims for human sacrifice. The Aztec tribe itself was composed of twenty clans, each one of which was represented in a tribal council, this being the most important organ of government. There were two elective chieftains: the head war chief, known as the "chief of men" and the so-called "snake-woman" or civil chief. On the arrival of the Spaniards the former of these offices was held by Montezuma II. A powerful priesthood administered a gloomy and sanguinary religion in which human sacrifice figured prominently. With the possible exception of the Mayas, the Aztecs had progressed further in the art of writing than any other of the American peoples. The Aztec hieroglyphics were both figurative and ideographic, while a beginning had been made of an actual phonetic system.

The Mayas. Passing over the Zapotecs, an Indian people who in the present Mexican state of Oaxaca had attained a relatively high development, we come to the Mayas. Scholars are wont to speak of two epochs of Maya culture. The "Golden Age of the Maya" lasted from the second to the close of the sixth century of the Christian era. During this period flourished the great cities: Palenque, in the present Mexican state of Chiapas; Quiriguá in the present Guatemala, and Copán in the present Honduras. For reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained these cities sank into insignificance and all but oblivion. The occupation and colonization of Yucatan paved the way for a great Maya renaissance which extended through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The cities of Chichen Itza, Uxmal and Mayapan formed a confederacy which may have been the prototype of the later Aztec confederacy in Mexico. Though both

Maya periods were characterized by the erection of imposing temples and palaces, the earlier epoch has been described as the age of sculpture and the later the age of architecture. Practically nothing is known about the institutions of the southern Mayas; the northern Mayas were organized on the basis of clans—which in the days of the confederacy became embryonic nations—ruled over by hereditary chiefs. The religion of the Mayas was polytheistic, their pantheon containing about a dozen major deities and a host of lesser ones. The Mayas believed in the immortality of the soul. Unlike the Aztecs their religious rites were rarely stained with human sacrifices. They developed a system of hieroglyphic writing which has been described as the "foremost intellectual achievement of Ancient America." The deciphering of the Maya glyphs, which cover the monoliths and temple walls, presents enormous difficulties, as they are for the most part ideographic rather than phonetic (that is the various symbols represent ideas rather than sounds). None the less some two-fifths of these glyphs—dealing chiefly with the Maya calendar and chronology—have been translated, thus enabling us to reconstruct the skeleton of Maya history.

The Chibchas. The Chibchas were the most advanced politically and culturally of the various Indian tribes inhabiting the present republic of Colombia. They were located on the fertile plateau about Bogotá and in the adjacent valleys. At the time of the conquest the Chibchas were divided into some five communities each ruled by a local chieftain, although the ruler of Bogotá, known as the *Zipa* far surpassed the others in power and importance. While their chief occupation was agriculture they engaged extensively in the mining of copper, emeralds and gold. They possessed no system of writing and their architectural remains are of little significance. To the student of history the chief interest of the Chibchas lies in certain of their religious rites. The Chibchas were nature worshipers; lakes were an object of special veneration. According to the accounts of the early Spanish chronicles, one of the chieftains, at the time of his coronation, repaired to the sacred lake of Guatavita. Anoint-

ing himself with gold dust, he was immersed in the lake while offerings of gold were thrown into its sacred waters. Thus arose the legend of *El Dorado* or the "gilded man," which fired the imaginations of the Conquistadors and led them in their quest for gold to explore large sections of northern South America.

The Incas. It is now recognized by all scholars that the civilization of the Incas represented the culmination of a long development. The most interesting remains left us by the pre-Inca cultures are the imposing and enigmatical ruins of Tiahuanaco, consisting of a so-called temple, gigantically carved stones and colossal monolithic statues, located near the southern end of Lake Titicaca. The history of these monuments is shrouded in the mists of the past; even at the time of the conquest their designers and purpose were unknown. Centuries after the disappearance of the Tiahuanaco civilization, there emerged, probably in the vicinity of Cuzco in central Peru, a stock or tribe known as the Quechuas. Under the leadership of an hereditary chieftain known as the Inca they began to extend their influence until at the coming of the Spaniards their domain stretched from beyond the equator on the north to the desert of Atacama in the present Chile on the south. Of the various Indian peoples conquered by the Quechuas and incorporated in their realm, the most important were the Aymarás, inhabiting the present republic of Bolivia. The Incas possessed a number of cities containing some of the most striking monuments in the New World. Cuzco the capital was adorned with temples and palaces, whose cyclopean foundations still remain. Above Cuzco was the immense fortress of Sacsahuaman, comparable in size and massiveness to the pyramids of Egypt. On the summit of the beetling precipices rising from the cañon of the Urubamba was discovered by Professor Bingham in 1912 the marvelous remains of Machu Picchu, a city of refuge, unknown to the Spaniards.

In their social and political organization the Quechuas represented an advance over all the other American aborigines. The basis of the social system was the clan or *ayllu,* whose members,

in theory at least, were blood relations. As the Incas extended their sway, this simple communal organization was supplemented by a highly complicated scheme of bureaucratic supervision. The clans or families were organized on a decimal basis, with a hierarchy of officials culminating in the Inca or ruler himself. The products of the land were divided into three parts—one going to the clan or family which tilled it, another to the Inca, another to the priesthood. From one point of view this organization may be regarded as a system of communistic despotism, from another as a military system applied to industrial purposes. Though the Quechuas had an elaborate pantheism, their chief object of worship was the sun; the Inca himself and members of his family, since they were supposed to be descended from the sun, were also revered. Unlike the Aztecs and the Mayas, the Quechuas had no method of writing. There existed, however, a large body of songs, legends, and dramas handed down by word of mouth. By means of the so-called *quipus,* a system of mnemonics worked out by means of colored and knotted strings of various lengths, they were able to keep accounts or even record simple events.

The Indians of the Amazonian and Adjacent Regions. Save for the ethnologist the Indian stocks inhabiting the basins of the Amazon and Orinoco present few of the characteristics which invest the study of the native races of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru with such fascination. On the arrival of the Europeans, the population of the present Brazil and adjacent territory was largely made up of four great families of stocks, divided into an immense number of tribes, all low in the cultural scale. Of these stocks the most widely distributed were the Tupis or Tupis-Guaranís. In their original habitat they occupied the Atlantic seaboard from la Plata estuary to the delta of the Amazon, large sections of the Amazon valley, and considerable portions of the present republics of Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Although the chief occupations of the Tupi-Guaraníes were hunting and fishing they practiced a rude kind of agriculture, raising several varieties of vegetables, Indian corn, and tobacco. Their

language was prior to the discovery, the most widely spoken tongue in South America, and is still used by the majority of the inhabitants of Paraguay. It is the only Indian language in the western hemisphere in which books and newspapers are still printed. The three other great stocks were the Arawaks, occupying parts of the Amazon valley and some of the islands of the Caribbean; the Caribs, who, emigrating northward from the middle Amazon shortly before the arrival of the Europeans, had dispossessed the Arawaks from large sections of the Caribbean littoral and parts of the Antilles; the Tupayas, occupying large parts of central and northeastern Brazil. The Tupayas were the oldest as well as the most degraded and uncivilized stock in this portion of South America.

The Araucanians. Of the various stocks dwelling in the southern portion of the continent we need only note the Araucanians. These aborigines, probably of Pampean origin, on the arrival of the Spaniards inhabited the present republic of Chile from the desert of Atacama on the north to the island Chiloé on the south. The Araucanians were still in a seminomadic state and had reached about the same cultural level as the Iroquois and Algonquins of North America. They were famous for their prowess in war; not only did they successfully defy the Incas but they were never entirely conquered by the Spaniards. The blood of this valiant and tough fibered race in time mingled with that of the Spaniards; the result has been the large *mestizo* or *roto* class which has played such a notable part in the economic development of the present day Chile.

The Completion of the Exploration and Conquest of Spanish and Portuguese America. The decade following the epoch-making voyage of 1492 witnessed the discovery not only of the islands of the West Indies but also of the Atlantic mainland of both North and South America. In his three subsequent voyages Columbus discovered Jamaica, the northern coast of South America adjacent to the mouth of the Orinoco, and the shores of Central America from Honduras to Panama. Up to his death in 1506, however, he remained ignorant of the magni-

tude of his life's work and continued to believe that he had but explored the eastern shores of Asia. Brazil, as we have seen, had been touched in 1500 by the Portuguese navigator Cabral on his way to India. In 1501 and 1502 the Italian cosmographer and pilot Amerigo Vespucci, sailing under Portuguese auspices, skirted the coast of Brazil probably as far south as the present republic of Uruguay. The publication of two famous letters which he wrote recounting this and his other voyages, led a young German geographer named Waldseemüller, in a volume entitled *Cosmographie Introductio,* to suggest in 1507 that the new continent described by Vespucci be named "America." The idea slowly gained acceptance although it was not until 1541 that the name "America" was applied to both continents by the Dutch geographer Mercator. In 1513 Vasco Núñez de Balboa from a peak in Darien described the South Sea and six years later Pedrarias de Avila founded the City of Panama. In 1519 the daring Portuguese navigator, Magellan, sailing under orders from Charles V, passed through the straits which bear his name. Though he lost his life on one of the islands of the Pacific, his followers continued the voyage and reached Spain after circumnavigating the globe.

Meanwhile, from Santo Domingo (Española) and Cuba as centers the Spaniards began the systematic exploration and conquest of the mainland. As early as 1517 news reached Cuba of the existence somewhere in the west of a marvelous empire abounding in wealth and ruled over by a people known as the Aztecs. To conquer this region was chosen, by the governor of Cuba, a certain young soldier of fortune named Hernando Cortés. Thanks to his own prowess and skill Cortés succeeded during the years 1519-1521 in completely overthrowing the Aztecs and other tribes in the heart of what is now the republic of Mexico. Spanish arms were then carried southward, and by 1525 the regions now known as Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras were brought under the control of the Spanish crown. The conquest of Mexico had hardly been completed before news reached Panama of a land to the southward named "Birú"

(Peru) whose riches and marvels rivaled those of the Aztec dominions in Mexico. Francisco Pizarro, a former comrade of Balboa, after two unsuccessful attempts, in 1531-1532 overthrew the power of the Incas and added Peru to the domains of Spain. From Peru as a center Pizarro's lieutenants extended the Spanish conquests to the north, east, and south. Sebastian de Benalcázar invaded the present Ecuador, taking formal possession of Quito in 1534. Diego de Almagro, who had been associated with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, crossed the plateau of Upper Peru (the present Bolivia) and penetrated some distance into Chile. (1535-1536.) The definite conquest of this region was reserved to Pedro de Valdivia. In 1541 he founded the city of Santiago and after establishing a number of other towns, including Concepción, Coquimbo, and Valdivia, was killed in 1553 by the Araucanian Indians.

During this period the regions embraced in the present republics of Venezuela and Colombia were also being brought under Spanish control. In 1528 Charles V pledged Venezuela to the German banking firm of the Welsers as an hereditary fief of the crown. The Welsers were authorized to conquer the country and receive a portion of all precious metals which might be discovered. The Germans' chief concern was the acquisition of wealth by trading; they had even less regard for the Indians than the Spaniards. In 1546 their grant was rescinded and the province of Venezuela reverted to the crown. In 1567 Caracas was founded. The conqueror of Colombia and the despoiler of the Chibchas was Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, a native of Granada. In 1536 he ascended the Magdalena River and after incredible hardship—from which three-fourths of his men perished—reached the plateau of Cundinamarca. Here in 1538 he founded the city of Santa Fé (later known as Santa Fé de Bogotá). To the whole region he gave the name of the New Kingdom of Granada.

The regions embraced in la Plata River basin—the present republics of Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay—were, owing to the absence of precious metals, more or less neglected by Spain.

The first explorers were hoping to find a passage through the continent to the lands of the Far East. In 1516 Juan Díaz de Solís entered la Plata estuary, as did Sebastian Cabot ten years later. The real founder of la Plata colony was a Basque nobleman named Pedro de Mendoza. In 1535 he laid the foundation of the city of Santa María de Buenos Aires, while one of his lieutenants, Juan de Ayolas ascending the Paraná and Paraguay erected in 1537 a fort which he called Asunción, near the confluence of the Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers. The settlement at Buenos Aires was abandoned, however, in favor of Asunción, and it was not until 1580 that a permanent colony, under Juan de Garay, was established on the site of the capital of the present Argentina. Meanwhile the western portions of what is now Argentina had been settled from Peru; thus were established Tucumán in 1565 and Córdoba in 1573.

Before the end of the sixteenth century the Spanish colonial empire had almost attained its maximum extension. It reached, with many large areas left vacant to be filled in by later advance, from the mouth of the Rio Grande on the north to the Bio Bio River in southern Chile in the South. According to Juan López de Velasco, the cosmographer and historian attached to the Council of the Indies, there existed in Spanish America in 1574 some two hundred cities or towns evenly divided between North and South America. The population of the Spanish communities he estimated at 160,000, while the number of Indians brought under subjection and at least partially civilized amounted to some five million. For barely three-quarters of a century of colonial endeavors this represents an accomplishment, in some regards unparalleled in the history of colonial expansion.

CHAPTER II

THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE COLONIAL SYSTEMS

General Considerations. No account of the historical evolution of the nations of Latin America is intelligible without some reference to the colonizing work of Spain and Portugal in the New World. It will be more convenient to discuss the colonial expansion of these countries separately. Spain naturally has the first claim to our attention. The achievements of Spain, the pioneer nation in America, were remarkable, and in some respects unique. The motives which led Spain to undertake the task of conquering and civilizing large sections of two continents differed widely from those ordinarily associated with colonial enterprises. It is a historical commonplace that the motives which have usually led to the founding of colonies have been an excess of population encroaching upon the means of subsistence, political or religious persecution, and—in more modern times—the quest of raw materials and the creation of markets for manufactured articles. Such incentives were largely absent in the case of Spain. When the voyages of Columbus and his successors suddenly won for Spain a new world, both the Spanish people and the Spanish crown were unprepared for the responsibilities suddenly thrust upon them. But powerful incentives for further conquest, followed by permanent settlement, soon appeared. Love of adventure and lure of gain here played their part. Vast numbers of adventurers, nobles, soldiers of fortune, left in many cases without occupation as a result of the conclusion of the Moorish wars, eagerly fared forth to win fame and wealth. From their ranks came the *conquistadores,* whose exploits, signalized by greed, ferocity, daring, superhuman courage, lend such a luster of romance to the early chapters of American history. Of such stuff

were Cortés, Pizarro, Alvarado, Valdivia, and a host of others. Another motive, whose importance it is hard to overestimate, was religious zeal. In the sixteenth century Spain was regarded as the bulwark of Catholicism in Europe. Something akin to the crusading fervor, extinct elsewhere in Europe, lived on in Spain partly as a legacy of the Moorish wars. With the spiritual and temporal welfare of millions of benighted Indians committed to their charge, the Spanish sovereigns, encouraged and abetted by the Spanish clergy, were sincerely desirous of converting the natives to Christianity. Finally, there was the natural and impelling desire on the part of the Spanish sovereigns to enlarge their dominions, increase their prestige, and tap new sources of wealth. Victorious over Islam, master of the Peninsula, eager to maintain a position of pre-eminence among the great powers of Europe, the crown of Spain, shortly after the conquest, began systematically to lay a firm foundation for its overseas domain. Explorations were encouraged, colonization was stimulated by grants and subsidies, and for a time emigration was fostered.

Two distinctive features of the Spanish colonial system deserve to be noted at this point. The first is the autocratic character of Spanish rule in the New World. The colonization of America synchronized with the growth of absolutism at home. Charles V and Philip II carried still further the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, and destroyed almost every vestige of popular liberties. We need, therefore, look for no self-government in Spanish America, with the possible exception of the municipalities or town councils. It is unnecessary to point out how different were conditions in the colonies established by England. The second striking feature is the peculiar juridical relations between the colonies and the mother country. The Spanish dominions in the New World were regarded as a part of the king's hereditary domains and subject directly to him. The famous bull of Alexander VI conferred dominion over the Indies to the Catholic Sovereigns and their successors, and not to the Spanish nation. The various organs of the government of Castile, such as the Cortes, the Council of Castile, and the Council of State, had

nothing to do with Spanish America. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Indies were not regarded as colonies at all; they were "kingdoms" united to the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in the person of the sovereign. The consecrated phrase in describing the royal possession on both sides of the Atlantic was *"estos y esos reinos"*—these and those kingdoms. The full significance of this peculiar relationship will appear when we take up the Wars of Independence.

Territorial and Administrative Divisions. In our brief survey it will not be possible to describe in detail the establishment and development of the various territorial divisions of Spanish America. By the middle of the sixteenth century the period of the *conquista* had come to an end and that of the *coloniaje,* or colonial economy, had begun. The resultant political divisions —whose characteristics will be presently described—were the viceroyalties, captaincies-general, and *audiencias.* For over a century and a half the Indies were officially described as consisting of two kingdoms: the Viceroyalty of New Spain, established in 1535, and comprising the mainland and islands north of the Isthmus, as well as that part of South America included in the present republic of Venezuela; and the Viceroyalty of Peru, founded in 1556 and including the Isthmus and all the territory from New Spain to Patagonia, save the Portuguese possession of Brazil. In 1718 the Viceroyalty of New Granada with its capital at Bogotá was founded, and in 1776 the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires was added. The remaining lesser divisions of the Spanish-American world were the captaincies-general of Guatemala (1527); Venezuela (1773); Cuba (1777); and Chile (1778). The audiencias were, in the eighteenth century, twelve in number: Santo Domingo, Mexico, Panama, Lima, Guatemala, Guadalajara, Bogotá, la Plata, Quito, Cuzco, Chile, Buenos Aires.

Organs of Government. The Council of the Indies.—The years immediately following the discovery of America were a period of groping and adjustment in the administration of Spain's overseas domains. The king, as source of all legislation and

government, at first delegated his power to various commissions or individuals. For a time Columbus's old enemy, Fonseca, Archbishop of Burgos, exercised the functions of colonial minister. But the enormous extension of Spanish power and influence in the early decades of the sixteenth century made imperative the creation of new organs of government, and as early as 1511 there was founded the *Consejo Real y Junta de Guerra de Indias.* This body, generally known as the Council of the Indies, was designed to perform for the colonies somewhat the same functions that the Council of Castile performed for Spain. The Council enjoyed supreme and exclusive jurisdiction in the affairs of the Indies. As an executive body it proposed for royal confirmation the names of the viceroys, captains-general, and other important functionaries, both civil and ecclesiastical. The king sought and acted upon its advice in all important matters dealing with the government and administration of the colonies. It was also a judicial body, acting as court of final appeal for all cases sufficiently important to come before it. Finally, as a legislative body it issued an immense number of laws and regulations covering almost every phase of colonial activity. This material was eventually codified in the monumental *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias,* one of the most remarkable bodies of colonial legislation ever compiled. The Council consisted of eight members, who were required to be persons "proven in morals, nobility and purity of lineage, fearing God, and eminent in letters and prudence." They were generally selected from officials who had seen service in the Indies. As time went on it was discovered that the Council was too large and unwieldy to carry on its duties efficiently. In 1714 its most important functions were taken over by the Minister of the Indies who formed a part of the cabinet system introduced into Spain by the Bourbons.

The India House (Casa de Contratación). The principles of absolutism, exemplified in political matters by the Council of the Indies, found their application in the economic field in the *Casa de Contratación* or India House, a body created in 1503 and

established at Seville. Its authority, which was derived from the Council of the Indies, extended to all persons engaged in trade or commerce between Spain and the Indies. All merchandise intended for export had to be declared at the India House and all the products from the colonies had to pass through its doors. To it was likewise entrusted the control of emigration to the Indies. In 1552 the Casa established a professorship of cosmography, one of its first incumbents being the historian Herrera. All shipowners and pilots were obliged to keep a daily record of their course, and a detailed description of all the regions which they had visited. These records were deposited with the pilot-major at Seville. Thus was gradually accumulated an immense amount of geographical and other data of value. Up to the end of the seventeenth century the Casa possessed enormous importance and was one of the most effective means employed by the crown in the maintenance of its policy of commercial monopoly. Its power was greatly curtailed as a result of the reforms of Charles III in the eighteenth century and the creation of a minister of the Indies. It was finally abolished in 1790.

Spanish Organization in America. The Viceroys and the Captains-General. In organizing its overseas possessions the crown endeavored to assimilate the laws of the Indies as far as possible to those of Spain. "The kingdom of Castile and the Indies," wrote Philip II to the Council of the Indies, "belong to the same crown; the laws and systems of government ought to be as nearly identical as possible; thus in the laws and ordinances which they will prepare for these estates the members of our Council should follow the model of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, as far as local differences and diversity of races permit." In pursuance of this plan the Indies were divided, as already noted, first into two "kingdoms" or viceroyalties, and later into four. The more remote districts were organized as captaincies-general, of which eventually there were four. The captaincies-general were for a time subordinate to the viceroyalties, but, owing partly to geographical reasons, this

dependence virtually ceased and the captains-general received instruction directly from the metropolis.

Over each kingdom was a viceroy. These officials, according to Charles V, were to "represent the person of the king, render equal justice to all his subjects and vassals, and attend to everything which concerns the repose, quietude, and pacification of the Indies." As the king's *alter ego* the viceroy was the most important and exalted personage in the Indies. He maintained a regal establishment and his court was modeled on that of Madrid. His term of office, at first three years, was subsequently increased to five, though it might be lengthened or curtailed at the pleasure of the sovereign. During the seventeenth century the salary of the viceroy of New Spain was twenty thousand ducats; that of Peru thirty thousand. At the expiration of his term of office he was expected to draw up a detailed report for the guidance of his successor. These reports constitute some of our most valuable sources of information regarding the practical workings of the Spanish colonial system. While the prestige of the captain-general was not equal to that of the viceroy, his authority within his own jurisdiction was almost if not fully as great.

However great in theory may have been the power of the governors—the viceroys and captains-general—in practice it was subject to a number of limitations. The ever-increasing volume of *cédulas reales* or royal decrees deprived them of their initiative. So numerous and conflicting did these decrees become that the viceroys were wont to kiss the cédulas and place them on their heads with the words *"Obedezco pero no cumplo,"* "I obey but do not execute." From time to time the crown was accustomed to send to the Indies special representatives or inspectors known as *visitadores generales,* who were invested with powers superior to those of the governors themselves. The most famous of these special officials, whose functions recall the medieval papal *legatus a latere,* was José de Gálvez. He was largely instrumental in introducing into New Spain the reforms of Charles III and in bringing about the colonization of Upper California in 1769.

Still another check on the power of the governor was an inquest held at the conclusion of his term of office known as the *residencia.* Before this special court all persons having grievances against the outgoing official could present their charges. In theory this institution had much to recommend it; in practice its efficiency was open to grave doubts. Collusion between the examined and the examiners was not uncommon. Humboldt states that if the viceroy is rich, adroit, supported in America by a capable *asesor* or legal advisor and in Spain by powerful friends, he can govern arbitrarily without ever fearing the residencia.

The Audiencias. As a counterpoise to the authority of the viceroy and captain-general was the audiencia. This body, whose prototype is to be found in medieval Spain, was a judicial, executive, and consultative body. In the first capacity it was the highest court of appeal and was presided over by the viceroy or captain-general. During the vacancy of the governor it took over the administration and became an executive body. At all times it had the right of corresponding directly with the home authorities over the head of the governor. Finally, it frequently met with the governor as a consultative body as a kind of cabinet or council of state. The members of the audiencia enjoyed great consideration or prestige; they received large emoluments, and were required to hold themselves aloof from all local interests. To the audiencia which was not located at the seat of a viceroy or captain-general the name *presidencia* was sometimes applied and the presiding official was known as *presidente.* This was the case, for example, in the Presidency of Quito.

At the end of the colonial *régime* Spanish America, as we have already seen, possessed twelve audiencias. Their respective jurisdictions were subdivided into *gobiernos* or governments, *corregimientos,* or districts presided over by officials known as *corregidores,* and *alcaldías mayores.* In the latter half of the eighteenth century, largely through the efforts of the reforming king Charles III, a new set of officials known as *intendentes* was introduced into Spanish America. The primary purpose of the intendente system, which had been borrowed from France, was

to provide for a more efficient fiscal administration. The viceroyalties were divided into *intendencias*—of which there were twelve in New Spain and eight in Buenos Aires—each presided over by an intendent. In addition to the control of the financial affairs of their respective districts, these officials were intrusted with all matters relating to justice, police, public welfare, protection of the native races. They thus absorbed many of the functions hitherto exercised by the corregidores.

The Real Hacienda. A detailed account of the very complicated financial history of the Spanish colonial administration would transcend the scope of this chapter. In general it may be said that the finances of each of the major administrative divisions were controlled by two bodies, the *Tribunal de Cuentas,* or Tribunal of Accounts, and the *Caja Real,* or treasury. In case of conflict between these two bodies their members met with the governor and the audiencia to form a *junta de real hacienda,* the decision of a majority of whose members was binding. Not until the advent of the intendentes were the finances of each of the more important colonies placed under the immediate charge of a responsible official.

The Cabildos. The policy of keeping the colonies in a state of complete political dependence was subject to one modification. The *cabildo,* or town council, an institution which dates back to medieval Spain if not to Roman times, afforded the colonists some opportunity for self-government. The citizens of the municipalities elected the *regidores* or aldermen, who in turn chose the *alcaldes* or justices. In Mexico, at the end of the eighteenth century, for instance, the council consisted of fifteen regidores who annually elected two alcaldes. But as early as the end of the sixteenth century the cabildo tended to become a closed corporation, membership in which might be purchased or inherited.

Corruption in the Spanish Colonial Administration. It is a widely held opinion that the Spanish colonial administration was corrupt and inefficient. In passing judgment on Spanish achievements in America, it should not be forgotten that the foundations

for her colonial empire had hardly been laid before Spain began to sink into stagnation and decline. A liberal or progressive policy could hardly be expected of the autocratic Philip II; nor do we associate honesty and efficiency with the last three Hapsburgs, Philip III, Philip IV, and Charles II. It was not until the advent of the Bourbons, especially the able Charles III, that we may speak of a really enlightened colonial policy. Yet it seems probable that during this whole period the colonies were as well governed as Spain and possibly more prosperous.

That widespread corruption existed admits of no doubt. It could hardly have been otherwise with the prevailing system of buying and selling government functions. In some cases the viceroys themselves sought to increase their already large salaries by various exactions, such as the creation of monopolies, the remission of penalties, and even the commuting of death sentences. The profits to be gained from contraband were a fertile source of corruption. The French engineer Frézier, who visited South America at the beginning of the eighteenth century, found evidences of peculation and official dishonesty on all sides. The various public functionaries, he declared, regarded their short term of office as a kind of jubilee, through which they hoped not only to enrich themselves for life but also to stave off the adverse judgment of a residencia.

Relations with the Natives. We have already seen that among the motives of Spanish colonization was the evangelization of the Indians; in fact, one of the conditions of the papal grant of the Indies was the conversion of the natives to Christianity. From the outset, therefore, the Spanish crown took a most lively interest in the welfare, both spiritual and temporal, of the aborigines, with the result that a large portion of the native stock was preserved and partially civilized. In general, it may be said that Spanish policy was characterized by a broad humanitarianism unapproached by any of the other colonizing nations of the period. Unfortunately, there was frequently a great divergence between theory and practice. Economic and humanitarian motives ofttimes clashed. The dearth of white laborers, the

desire of the crown to increase its revenues, particularly through the mining of precious metals, the greed and cruelty of the first generations of Spanish explorers and colonists, finally, the inefficiency and corruption of the Spanish agents, only too often neutralized the effect of benevolent legislation.

The Encomienda System. During the first years of Spanish rule it was lawful to enslave cannibal tribes, or Indians who offered armed resistance to the Spaniards. Under cover of these concessions a considerable part of the inhabitants of the Antilles were enslaved or killed off. Those who did not fall into the hands of the slave hunters were subject to the *encomienda.* This institution, whose roots go back to the days of Spanish feudalism, was a kind of trust or fief consisting of one or more villages of Indians, who were obliged to furnish labor or fixed tribute to the owner of the encomienda in return for protection and Christian instruction. These encomiendas were granted to the conquistadores or other persons of importance and were supposed to be renewed at the end of two, or at the most four, generations. The encomienda in fine was an attempt—soon shown to be impracticable—to reconcile the humanitarian designs of the crown with the economic needs of the colonists.

In practice, the status of the Indians under the encomienda system varied from serfdom to out-and-out slavery. As a result of intolerable cruelties, famine, and disease the native races practically disappeared from the Antilles. According to the German ethnologist Peschel, the population of Española shrank from 3,000,000 in 1492 to 14,000 in 1514.

Partly as a result of the heroic efforts of the Dominican monk and scholar Bartholomew de las Casas, the "Apostle of the Indies," the crown strove to grapple with these evils and to throw effective safeguards about the Indians still living on the mainland. According to the so-called New Laws of 1542, Indian slavery was henceforth absolutely forbidden. Encomiendas belonging to the clergy and government officials were to be relinquished; *encomenderos* who abused their Indians were to lose their holdings; no new encomiendas might be granted,

and existing ones were to lapse on the death of their holders. While the New Laws were only imperfectly enforced, the encomienda system received a blow from which it never recovered. The last lingering encomiendas were abolished by Charles III in the eighteenth century.

Spain's Indian Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Unfortunately, the cruelties and excesses of the first fifty years of Spanish rule have tended to obscure two centuries of philanthropic legislation. With the gradual abolition of the encomiendas and the strengthening of royal authority, the various laws designed to protect and civilize the Indians began to be enforced. Perhaps the two most striking features of this protective legislation were the policies of segregation and tutelage. The Indian settlements or villages were set apart from the Spanish towns or confined to the suburbs. Neither whites nor mulattoes were allowed to settle in these districts and merchants were not permitted to remain more than three days. Each village or community had its *cacique,* or Indian chief. These caciques were sometimes hereditary; sometimes appointed by the viceroy. Above the caciques were Spanish officials known as *corregidores,* or protectors of the Indians. Within their jurisdiction *(corregimientos)* these officials were entrusted with the task of safeguarding the rights and liberties of the Indians, of providing them with seeds, agricultural implements, and clothing, and of collecting tribute. In Mexico, according to Humboldt, the corregidores performed their tasks conscientiously and well; in Peru the reverse was frequently the case.

Legally, the Indians were classed as minors for life. They could not contract debts above five dollars; they were forbidden to alienate property or enter upon important contracts without the consent of the corrigedor. "On account of their ignorance and weak minds" they were exempt from the Inquisition and they enjoyed many indulgences in the matter of church discipline which were never granted the Spaniards. They were also exempt from the payment of the onerous *alcabala* or sale tax.

Yet the lot of the natives, even under the best conditions, was

far from enviable. All adult Indians were subject to the poll tax, paid either in money or in kind. The payment of the tithe, though enforced with many relaxations, bore heavily on their meager products. But the most oppressive service demanded of the Indians was a kind of forced labor or *corvée,* known as the *mita.* Usually the term was applied to work in the mines. At first the mita was attended by frightful abuses; in the great silver mine of Potosí in Upper Peru the Indians died like flies. The stricter enforcement of the government regulations in time robbed the mita system of some of its worst terrors. In Mexico only four per cent of the population might be subjected to the mita; in Peru seven per cent. Yet it is undeniable that this forced labor was accompanied by a heavy mortality and was one of the causes of depopulation, especially in Peru. As late at 1778 the intendent of Cochabamba reported that three of his Indian villages had been entirely depopulated and that of the Indians who annually were forced to go to Peru one-third never returned.

The Missions. One other phase of Spain's policy toward the Indians yet remains for treatment: the attitude of the crown in reference to the unsubdued and uncivilized natives living beyond the frontier of Spanish settlements. The conclusion of the period of conquest by no means brought an end to Spanish expansion. The safety of the far-flung frontier, the desire to extend effective control over regions claimed by Spain, the responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the unnumbered thousands of natives living beyond the pale of civilization, all led to systematic efforts to convert the untamed Indians and to wean them from their savage ways. This task was entrusted to the missionaries, recruited from the great religious orders—chiefly the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans. Disregarding countless dangers, these missionaries penetrated remote regions peopled by savage Indians and set about to secure their conversion. If their work was successful, the neophytes were gathered together in a settlement called a mission or a reduction, where, under the tutelage of the friars, they received elementary instruction in letters and Chris-

tian doctrine and training in the more simple mechanical arts. Here, under a minute but benevolent discipline, the Indians passed their entire lives. From California and Texas on the north to Paraguay and Chile on the south the Spanish frontier was dotted with these outposts of civilization. It was expected that in process of time the missions would become *pueblos de Indios,* after which the missionaries would push out further into the wilderness. Later the whites would establish themselves and the natives would lose even the remembrance of their native tongue. "Such," in the language of Humboldt, "is the progress of civilization from the coasts toward the interior—a slow process shackled by the passions of man, but sure and uniform."

Perhaps the most famous of the missionary enterprises in Spanish America were the reductions in Paraguay, although most of them lay outside of the confines of the present republic of the same name. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits secured permission from Philip III to found a series of missions in the wild and little-known region of the Upper Paraná. The tractable and relatively inoffensive Guaranís, threatened on the north by ferocious cannibals and on the east by the slave-raiding Portuguese, flocked to the reductions in large numbers. Once their authority was firmly established, the Jesuits put into practice one of the most thoroughgoing systems of religious and industrial communism ever devised. In some respects it recalled the communistic despotism of the Incas, with its denial of private property and universal obligation to labor. In their dealings with the Indians the Jesuits displayed consummate shrewdness and tact. The tedium of labor was relieved by frequent intervals of music and games. The childlike imagination of the Guaranís was impressed by elaborate and pompous ceremonies. The Indians were formed into military organizations in which much was made of the splendor of uniforms and high-sounding titles.

The success of the Jesuits were amazing. Their commonwealth "constituted the most orderly, stable, and contented community south of the tropics." The reductions steadily grew in number

until at the end of the seventeenth century they included forty establishments, the largest containing 20,000 souls. Yet the Jesuits did not lack detractors. They were accused of ruthlessly exploiting the Indians to their own advantage. From the proceeds of the sale of the *maté* or Paraguayan tea, raised by the Indians, the Jesuits were alleged to have amassed immense wealth. The Spanish writer Azara, who inspected the reductions in the eighteenth century, would have us believe that the Jesuits were so opulent that they erected churches whose elaborate decorations rivaled those of the churches of Spain and Italy. But an inventory of the Jesuits' possessions at the time of their expulsion furnished little warrant for such a charge. A graver accusation was that they kept the Indians in such a state of moral and mental imbecility that if left to themselves they were quite incapable of progress. Certain it is that the Indians were forced to live isolated from all contact with the outside world save through the Jesuit fathers; they were not even taught Spanish, all instruction being carried on in Guaraní. Could this Arcadian community have continued to remain indefinitely insulated from contact with the outside world, some justification might have been found for such a system of theocratic communism. As it was, the training given the Indians, instead of enabling them to adapt themselves to an individualistic society, fitted them to become the victims of absolute authority. Such training helped to make possible the later reigns of Francia and the two López.[1] When the Jesuits were expelled in 1767 the reductions fell quickly into ruins and the Indians to a large extent reverted to barbarism.

The Church in Spanish Colonial America. The importance of the clergy in the conversion of the natives has already been noted. Some reference may now be made to the part which the Church as a whole played in the life of the colonies. It should never be forgotten that, however powerful the Church became in Spanish colonial America, it was at all times subordinate to the state. In a bull issued in 1508 by Pope Julius II, the king was given the right of patronage *(patronato),* which entitled him

[1] See below, page 11.

to nominate to the Pope all of the higher ecclesiastical authorities. Without the permission of the Council of the Indies, no papal bull could be extended to the Indies. By a law of 1522 no priest might go to the colonies without the king's express permission. To the crown was reserved the privilege of selling indulgences, particularly the bull of the Santa Cruzada. One-ninth of the tithes levied by the clergy flowed into the royal treasury.

With the protection of the crown the Church grew rapidly in power and influence. It was the recipient of many public grants and private bequests. In fact, the great wealth of the Church and the large number of the clergy, especially in the cities, became a handicap to the economic growth of the colonies. A burden doubly crushing on a newly founded colony was the tithe, equivalent to a land tax falling heavily on production. Even more oppressive was the mortmain, the inalienable tenure or possession of land; according to Humboldt there were provinces in Mexico where eighty per cent of the landed property was in the hands of the clergy. The large number of monasteries and the thousands of idle, unproductive, and ofttimes licentious friars adversely affected the economic development of the country. In a letter addressed to the viceroy of Peru in 1620 Philip III remarked, with obvious exaggeration, that the number of convents in Lima was so great that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. In 1644 the Cabildo of Mexico begged the king not to permit the establishment of any additional monasteries; the same petition stated that there were in Mexico 6,000 members of the clergy without charges.

It is admitted by all candid historians that the moral tone of the clergy—with the exception of the Jesuits—left much to be desired; especially was this true after the first flush of religious enthusiasm following the conquest had subsided. Conditions in many of the monasteries were deplorable, and the vow of celibacy suffered wide neglect among both the regulars and seculars. Regarding the moral relaxation in Peru in the eighteenth century, the confidential reports of the two Spanish officials, Juan and Ulloa, furnish abundant testimony.

Critics of the Spanish colonial system have been wont to enlarge on the activity of the Inquisition. Its importance in the religious life of the colonies may easily be exaggerated. The Tribunal of the Holy Office was created in 1569 and began its activity in Peru in 1570 and in Mexico in 1571. Its victims were chiefly foreign heretics, Spanish or Portuguese Jews, witches, and bigamists. The drastic exclusion from the Indies of all emigrants tainted even with ancestral heresy lessened the sphere of its activities and accounts for its late establishment. Four years after its introduction in Mexico it pounced upon John Hawkins's men, who had been captured in 1557. Three were burned at the stake and over fifty condemned to be scourged and to serve in the galleys. During the union between Spain and Portugal (1580-1640) a number of Portuguese Judaizers found their way to Peru and succeeded in capturing much of the retail trade of Lima. Persecution followed; in an *auto da fé* held in 1637 eleven of the Portuguese were sentenced to death. During the whole of the colonial period fifty-nine heretics were burned in Peru and forty-one in Mexico. Naturally the number of those who suffered minor penalties was much greater. By way of comparison it may be noted that, according to the historian Diercks, during the fifteen years (1483-1498) when Torquemada was Inquisitor General in Spain over ten thousand persons were burned at the stake.

The most sinister aspect of the Inquisition was possibly its rigid control over the introduction, publication, sale, and use of all forms of literature. Dealers were obliged to furnish the Inquisition a list of all books on sale and to own a catalogue of all works placed upon the index. The sale of such works was naturally forbidden. For the first offense the luckless bookseller had his business closed for two years, while he was liable to banishment for the same period. Domiciliary visits in quest of forbidden books were frequent. With the intellectual awakening of the eighteenth century, the Inquisition redoubled its activity. According to the Frenchman, Depons, who resided several years in Caracas, the indices of prohibited or expur-

gated books eventually included the works of 5420 authors, among whom were to be found many of the leading writers of Europe.

Spanish Economic Policy. Colonial Commerce and Industry. No feature of the Spanish colonial system has been subjected to such severe strictures as the economic and commercial policy of the metropolis toward the colonies. It is only fair to recall, however, that many of the mistakes of Spain were shared by the other colonizing powers of the period. Prior to the nineteenth century, it was regarded as almost axiomatic that colonial commerce should be restricted to the merchants of the mother country. But in the case of Spain this policy of colonial exclusivism was carried to a length unapproached by Spain's rivals. It became a cardinal policy of the Spanish crown that colonial trade and immigration should remain the monopoly of the Spanish people. The policy would have proved less disastrous had Spain possessed the resources to supply and populate so vast a portion of the New World, and to meet successfully the attacks of her rivals. But the task exceeded her strength and the consequences in many respects were calamitous.

As has already been related, one of the most effective means devised by the Spanish crown to safeguard its monopoly was the *Casa de Contratación,* which exercised the closest scrutiny over all commerce passing to and from the Indies. This trade, during the better part of the colonial period, was reserved to a single port, Seville. The creation of the Seville monopoly was justified in the estimation of the crown by its increased facility of levying import and export dues. Seville was also the chief mercantile city of Castile, and under the Hapsburgs the Indies were regarded as the exclusive appanage of the Castilian crown. The maritime cities of Galicia and Asturias—not to mention Barcelona on the Mediterranean—were thus deprived of virtually all share in the American trade. The inevitable result followed: when Spain entered upon her period of decline and large stretches of the country were poverty-stricken, Seville was noted for its wealth and opulence. The decadence of Seville began with the

sanding up of the Guadalquivir and the transference of the Casa de Contratación to Cadiz in 1717.

The System of Fleets and Galleons. The Fair at Porto Bello. Partly as a means of protection against the semipiratical attacks of Spain's enemies, partly as a further means of maintaining the commercial monopoly, the custom was adopted of having the ships sail in company. Thus arose the famous system of fleets and galleons, merchant ships accompanied by war vessels. Of these fleets there were two: one sailed early in the summer for Vera Cruz, touching at Havana; the other left Spain between January and March and went to Porto Bello on the isthmus, after touching at Cartagena, the chief port of Tierra Firme. Every detail of these voyages was worked out with great minuteness, nothing being left to the discretion of the commanders.

On the arrival of the fleet from Cartagena a great fair was held, and the pestilential village of Porto Bello became one of the great emporiums of the world's trade. Here goods for Chile and Peru and even distant Buenos Aires were unloaded, and exchanged for exports from these regions. The profits of middlemen were enormous, sometimes amounting to as much as forty million pesos. During the six weeks of the fair a single shop would rent for a thousand pesos and a large house for five thousand. The sanitary conditions were frightful, mortality being especially heavy among the unacclimated Europeans. The fair which followed the arrival of the so-called silver fleet at Vera Cruz took place at the more healthy inland city of Jalapa. In returning to Europe the two fleets united at Havana.

With practically all authorized shipping confined to two annual fleets, and distribution limited to two great fairs, it was natural that such trade as existed should gradually be concentrated in the hands of a small number of privileged companies. A few great houses at Seville practically controlled the trade with America. In Lima and Mexico City the merchants organized themselves into guilds or corporations known as *consulados* or consulates, with elected priors and consuls at their heads. While these bodies at times served a useful purpose in settling commercial

disputes, they naturally encouraged the monopoly system of which they were beneficiaries. It was said that for a long period the entire trade with the silver fleet was in the hands of eight or ten Mexican houses. Not infrequently Spanish exporters realized from one hundred to three hundred per cent profit. As was to be expected, it was the policy of these great exporting and importing houses to maintain prices at a high level and to keep the market systematically understocked. "The supply of a great kingdom," wrote Humboldt, "was carried on like the provisioning of a blockaded fortress." This whole system of fairs, caravans, privileged companies, as pointed out by Roscher,[1] has certain advantages when trade and commerce are in their infancy; the mistake committed by Spain was the attempt to perpetuate this highly artificial system long after its justification had passed.

Perhaps the most absurd and vicious example of Spain's commercial policy was the enforced dependence of Buenos Aires on Peru. Potentially, the regions drained by the Rio de la Plata were the richest of all of Spain's overseas domains. Yet partly because the interests of the Spanish crown were primarily concerned with the development of those regions rich in precious metals, partly lest the commercial monopoly, more especially the fleets and fairs, might suffer, European goods consigned to Buenos Aires were sent to the Isthmus, transhipped to Peru, and carried overland to their destination. As a result of this circuitous route with a land journey of a thousand leagues such goods were sold at some six times their original cost. In 1620 permission was given the port of Buenos Aires to export every year two small ships laden with local products, in return for merchandise intended for local use. Even this concession evoked violent protests from the merchants of Lima, with the result that a string of custom houses was erected on the routes leading from Buenos Aires. It was in pursuance of this same restrictive policy that all trade through the Straits of Magellan was forbidden.

The Manila Galleon. The possession of the Philippine Islands

[1] *The Spanish Colonial System,* page 34.

by Spain held out possibilities of an extraordinarily lucrative commerce between Manila and Spanish America. Through fear, however, that such trade would adversely affect the trade of the Atlantic fleet, it was reduced to a strict minimum. Direct trade between Peru and Manila was entirely forbidden, but once a year a single ship, the Manila galleon, was permitted to sail from Acapulco, the chief Pacific port of New Spain, to the Philippines. It carried government officials and priests for the Philippine missions and a certain amount of silver; returning, it was laden with Chinese goods, principally silks and muslins. The journey ordinarily consumed ninety days and at the end of the eighteenth century the fare over was $1000 and $500 for the return. The Italian traveler Gemelli, who was one hundred and four days on the sea, described the voyage "as enough to destroy a man or make him unfit for anything as long as he lives." This trans-Pacific trade, slight as it was, aroused frequent protests from the consulado at Seville. But the crown refused to suppress it, on the grounds that it was necessary for the maintenance of the settlements and mission in the Philippines. It is worthy of note that one of the reasons for the Spanish occupation of Upper California in the eighteenth century was the need of establishing way stations where the Manila galleon might secure provisions.

The Breakdown of the Monopoly. Under the best of conditions Spain's policy of colonial exclusivism would have been difficult to maintain, since it contravened all the normal operations of economic forces. It was partially successful as long as Spain remained rich, powerful, and feared, and the colonies weak and sparsely populated. But by the middle of the sixteenth century Spain entered upon a period of sharp decline, which ended only with the extinction of the line of the Spanish Hapsburgs a century and a half later. During the same period Spain's enemies steadily grew in strength. Naturally with the advent of the Reformation the fact that the Pope had divided the New World between Spain and Portugal lost its potency. The English, Dutch, and French looked with greedy eyes on the streams of wealth which flowed from the Indies into the coffers of Spain,

and neglected no opportunity to break through the barriers of commercial restriction. The breach made by Spain's enemies took various forms. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth English privateers and freebooters began to conduct bold raids on the ill-protected American continent, at the same time attacking isolated Spanish ships wherever found. It was by means of these semipiratical enterprises, which were secretly encouraged though publicly disavowed by Queen Elizabeth, that John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake gained renown. The latter in 1579 sailed through the Straits of Magellan, being the first Englishman to enter the South Sea. After harrying the Spanish settlements on the west coast of South America and New Spain, he refitted his ships on the shore of what is now California and returned to England by sailing around the world. With the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the power of Spain to resist foreign aggression was greatly weakened. With the coming of the seventeenth century the aristocratic freebooters, who had grown rich by pillaging the Indies, were succeeded by a less romantic but more businesslike generation, which endeavored to secure a share of the trade and resources of the new world by the establishment of permanent settlements. Piracy was now confined to the so-called buccaneers,[1] a motley crew of homeless and lawless men who from their lairs in the smaller depopulated islands of the Antilles preyed upon Spanish commerce. These corsairs, covertly encouraged by the enemies of Spain, continued their depredations until the end of the seventeenth century. Of these buccaneers the most famous was Henry Morgan, who captured and sacked the city of Panama in 1671. Meanwhile Spain's rivals had gained a foothold in the West Indies which the Spaniards were powerless to loosen. As early as 1634 the island of Curaçao off Tierra Firme was seized by the Dutch, while in 1655 the forces of Cromwell gained possession of Jamaica after a vain attempt to capture Santo Domingo. A little later, in 1687, the Portuguese occupied Colonia on the

[1] The term buccaneer is derived from the Carib word "buccan," a name given to the dried meat of the wild cattle of the islands.

northern shore of la Plata estuary and held it intermittently until the end of the colonial period.

The Contraband Trade. The immediate and, from the Spanish standpoint, disastrous result of these establishments was an enormous growth of contraband trade. Hampered less by legal restrictions, Spain's rivals could furnish manufactured articles much cheaper than either Spain or her colonies could produce them. Once the restrictive cordon was broken, sales and profits were assured, as the colonists welcomed the smugglers and even the local Spanish officials frequently connived at their activities. The trade of Venezuela was soon dominated by the Dutch, while Jamaica became a distributing center for English wares. Naturally the absurd attempt to make Buenos Aires dependent on Peru directly played into the hands of the Portuguese smugglers, who turned Colonia into a great commercial *entrepôt.* In fact, the primacy of Buenos Aires over other Spanish communities east of the Andes was largely due to this advantage of contraband trade over legitimate trade. This prevalence of smuggling did more than undermine Spain's commercial monopoly: it placed the colonists in the dilemma of upholding laws which sacrificed their well-being, or countenancing violations which contributed to their prosperity and progress. The result was not only widespread corruption and evasion, but also a lessened respect for law, still one of the weakest features of Spanish American political life.

The Asiento. The Navío de Permiso. Other serious breaches in the fabric of the colonial monopoly were due to the extortion of commercial privileges as a result of success in war. By the terms of the treaty of Utrecht (1713), following Spain's defeat in the war of the Spanish Succession, the English secured the highly prized *asiento,* or right of supplying the Spanish colonies with 4800 slaves annually for thirty years. Partial suspension of the laws prohibiting foreigners from residing in Spanish colonial cities was also secured. Finally, the English were permitted to send yearly one ship of five hundred tons to Porto Bello. This privileged ship (*navío de permiso*) was accompanied

by a number of smaller craft, which kept out of sight during the daytime but replenished the "mother-ship" at night. What with the competition of smugglers and the increase of illegal importation through other means, the commerce of the fleets declined until they carried little beside Spanish officials on their outward voyage, while their cargo on the return was limited to the silver constituting the *quinto* or royal fifth.

Reforms of Charles III. By the middle of the eighteenth century it was apparent even to the crown that the monopoly system had realized none of the magnificent expectations of Spain. Thanks largely to the wisdom of the Bourbon king, Charles III (1759-1788), the most vexatious and odious features of the monopoly were abolished. By a series of measures, of which the Reform Law of 1778 was the most notable, the privilege of trading with the colonies was accorded to other Spanish ports besides Seville and Cadiz; intercolonial trade was permitted; the fleet system was abandoned; duties on goods were lowered; the absurd commercial dependence of Buenos Aires on Peru was removed. The veil of secrecy with which the Spanish crown had endeavored to envelop its colonial enterprises was partially lifted; scientific expeditions, of which the most notable were those of the great German scholar Alexander von Humboldt and his French companion Bompland, were carried out under royal auspices. The results more than justified the hopes of Charles and his ministers. Trade underwent an enormous expansion; agriculture and industry were quickened into new life. Cuba furnishes a striking commentary on this liberal policy. In 1756 six ships sufficed for the meager trade of the island; in 1778 some two hundred entered the harbor of Havana. The Platine regions also came into their own; in the three years from 1792 to 1795 forty-seven vessels left the port of Buenos Aires. Unfortunately these reforms, sweeping and beneficent as they were, came too late to allay the resentment of the colonists. Rather did they throw into greater relief the disabilities and grievances of which they had been the victims. "By centuries of unreasonable discrimination and unjust restriction, Spain had

forfeited her parental rights, and emancipation was the logical and inevitable step forward."[1]

Colonial Industries. Intimately connected with the subject of the Spanish commercial policy is the topic of colonial industries. During the entire period of Spanish rule the industry in which the crown was most vitally interested was the extraction of precious metals. Those regions in which gold and silver abounded—especially the highlands of Peru and New Spain—were early settled, while other districts were neglected. The almost incredible wealth produced by the mines of Mexico and Peru provided the mother country in the shape of the quinto or royal fifth the financial resources needed to maintain her position in the concert of European powers. Statistics of the yield of the precious metals are misleading and inaccurate; Humboldt, who is perhaps our greatest authority in such matters, estimated the total yield of the gold and silver mines of Spanish America from 1493 to 1803 at the almost incredible sum of over five and a half billion pesos. Naturally the attempt by Spain to monopolize this apparently inexhaustible source of wealth invited attacks from Spain's commercial rivals. But its most serious adverse effect was to cause Spain to disregard the existence of those regions best adapted to agriculture and stock raising—notably Buenos Aires, the Antilles, and the *llanos* or plains of Venezuela and Colombia.

In dealing with colonial industries other than mining, the Spanish crown followed a policy of blind and stupid opportunism. Only spasmodically were such industries encouraged; usually they were tolerated only when they did not conflict with similar industries in Spain. The production of wine is a good example. For a time it was encouraged and the cultivation of both the grape and the olive was taken up by the colonists in Peru. But Philip II in 1569 ordered that no more vines be planted and later in the century it was proposed that production of Peruvian wine cease entirely, lest it compete with wine carried by the fleet. But this order was not carried out, the Spanish authorities merely

[1] Moses, *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America,* page 292.

insisting that no new areas be planted. Yet the Englishman Hall tells us that as late as 1803, "orders were received in Spanish America from Spain to root up all vines in certain provinces, because the Cadiz merchants complained of a diminution in the consumption of Spanish wines." Construction of sugar mills in Peru was discouraged and on several occasions forbidden. The textile industry had a precarious existence, sometimes fostered, again hampered by the government, until it largely succumbed at the beginning of the eighteenth century to English and French wares. In 1607 the cultivation of tobacco in Venezuela was entirely forbidden for ten years, because the Dutch were accustomed to purchase part of the crop. While the raising of cattle was subject to no legal prohibition on the fertile plains in the present Argentina, the closing of the ports deprived these regions of most of their value. As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century an ox was worth one dollar, sheep from three to four cents, and a mare ten cents.

Yet, despite the fact that Spanish policy often tended to discourage rather than to encourage agriculture, the vast majority of the inhabitants of Spanish America lived by farming and grazing. Especially was this true north of the Isthmus. The annual value of the agricultural production of New Spain at the opening of the nineteenth century was, according to the Mexican historian Alemán, $30,000,000, or nearly one-third greater than the yield of the mines. Nor should it ever be forgotten that Spain was responsible for the introduction into the Indies of some of the most useful cereals, vegetables, and plants known to man, as, for instance, the vine, olive, orange, lemon, sugar cane (and later), coffee, and rice. At the same time the Spaniards introduced all our common domestic animals, which increased with amazing rapidity. Finally, a number of plants cultivated by the Indians—maize, cacao, cotton—were taken over by the Spaniards and produced in such quantities as to be important articles of export.

Population. Social Conditions. We have already seen that conquest in the hope of colonization rather than settlement was

one of the impelling motives of the Spaniard in the New World. Under such conditions we should expect emigration to be subject to a variety of restrictions. Such, indeed, was the case. From the time of Charles V no one could emigrate to America without royal permission, and the successful applicant had to prove that neither he nor his ancestors for two generations had been punished by the Inquisition. The lines were drawn even more sharply under Philip II. Particularly stringent were restrictions against foreigners: those who by hook or crook found their way to Spanish America frequently paid for their temerity with their lives. The little struggling colony of French Huguenots in Florida was massacred in cold blood in 1565 "not as Frenchmen but as Lutherans." Not until the advent of the Bourbons (1700) did foreigners in any numbers find their way to the Indies; even then they were subject to a license tax and other disabilities.

In spite of the fact that the Spanish crown occasionally reversed its policy, and held out inducements to desirable types of emigrants, the growth of Spanish population was very slow. As late as 1550, according to the historian, Benzoni, there were only 50,000 Spaniards in all the New World. The French writer Depons declared that the annual emigration to the captaincy-general of Caracas at the end of the eighteenth century did not average more than one hundred.

Constituents of Population. Class Distinctions. The most striking feature of the social life in Spanish America was the existence of sharply drawn class distinctions, based on both color and race. These distinctions, inevitable in a conquest colony with a large subject population, were fostered and accentuated by the crown on the theory of divide and rule. The class stratification was completed by a sharp cleavage between the peninsular Spaniards and the Creoles, as those born of Spanish blood in the colonies were called.

At the apex of the social hierarchy stood the Spaniards, nicknamed *Gachupines* in New Spain and *Chapetones* in Peru. They were regarded as the bulwark of Spanish rule in America. To this privileged class, whose total number at the end of the colonial

period did not exceed 300,000, were reserved the highest positions in church and state. Of the 166 viceroys and 588 captains-general, governors, and presidents who held office in the colonies, only eighteen were Creoles. The disproportion in the ranks of the upper clergy was almost as great. Naturally the Spaniards looked with contempt on all classes lower in the social scale. According to Humboldt, the "most miserable European, without education or intellectual cultivation, thinks himself superior to all other white men in the new continent."

The Creoles. As a result of this favoritism the Creoles, though of pure European blood, and before the law the equal of the Spaniards, came to regard themselves as a class apart. Debarred from opportunity to participate in public affairs, too proud to engage in manual labor, victims of a faulty system of education, they lived for the most part in a state of lethargy and stagnation. Their vicious tendencies were encouraged by the government, through appeals to their vanity and to their extravagant and absurd tastes. The wealthy Creoles of Mexico City and Lima were expected to squander immense sums on the festivities which signalized the arrival of a new viceroy or other important functionary. Many of the Creoles were ennobled, and titles were eagerly sought after; it is said that at one time a third of the population of Lima was composed of nobles. Though many of the Creoles had immense estates—some going back to the encomiendas of early colonial days—they lived for the most part a parasitic existence in the cities. A peculiarity which struck all travelers was the amount of time consumed by the Creoles in law suits. The law was one of the few vocations to which no social stigma was attached: as a result, the colonial cities swarmed with notaries and lawyers; according to Depons, Caracas, with a population of 31,000 contained 600 persons connected with the law. The same writer paradoxically declared that "all the inhabitants of Spanish America are divided into two classes: those who ruin themselves in lawsuits and those who live by them."

The Mestizos. Beneath the Creoles come the *mestizos,* or those of mixed Spanish and Indian blood. Various reasons conspired

to increase the number and importance of this class. Emigration, as we have seen, was severely restricted. Especially was this true of women; under no circumstances were unmarried women permitted to go to the colonies. The Spaniards, unlike the English, evinced no great repugnance to establishing relations with the natives, and as a result of such miscegenation the number of mestizos at the end of the colonial period considerably outnumbered the whites.[1] The mestizos occupied a somewhat ambiguous status between the Creoles and the Indians; from their ranks were recruited the members of the lower clergy, the small proprietors, and the artisans in the cities. The crown viewed this growing class with considerable suspicion and to guard against the possibility of revolt was careful to deprive the mestizos of natural leaders. Since the social and civil position of every class depended to a degree on the color of the skin (*"todo blanco es caballero"*), the crown was wont to furnish enterprising or aggressive mestizos with a patent declaring them white. A similar course was adopted in the case of prominent Indians; the caciques, for instance, were technically regarded as white.

The Negroes. Of the remaining elements of the population of colonial Spanish America, the most important, the Indian, has already been discussed. A brief reference should be accorded the negro. Negro slaves were early introduced into the Spanish Antilles, and eventually to the mainland, to take the place of the Indian laborers. Yet outside the Caribbean region, negro slavery never assumed the importance in Spanish America that it did in Brazil. According to Humboldt, there were in his time less than three-quarters of a million negroes in all of the Spanish colonies; of these more than half were in Cuba and Porto Rico. In New Spain their number did not exceed six thousand. The rigorous climate of the Andean highlands and the Mexican plateau debarred them from these thickly settled regions, while there was no chance for them to enter the Platine country. In Lima negro slavery was conspicuous as a phase of luxury which char-

[1] According to Humboldt, there were at this period in Spanish America 7,530,000 Indians, 3,276,000 whites, and 5,328,000 mestizos.

acterized the lives of the Spaniards and wealthy Creoles. The Spanish slave code was more humane than either the French or English slave laws; but as regards actual treatment of the slaves by their masters, it is not certain that the Spaniards made the more favorable showing.

In addition to the mulattoes, arising from the union of the negroes and whites, there early appeared in the Indies the *zambos,* due to the crossing of the Indians and negroes. The Spanish authorities, by the infliction of barbarous penalties, endeavored to prevent the union of these two races. The testimony is all but universal, that the zambos inherited all of the bad and none of the good qualities of the races from which they sprang.

Other Reasons for Lack of Homogeneity. There were other reasons, aside from the artificially fomented jealousies and distinction based on color, which made difficult any homogeneity of population in the colonies. The geographical differences among the individual colonies; the transference to America of old provincial distinctions between the Castilians, the Aragonese, the Catalonians, and Basques; the antipathy between the inhabitants of the coastal regions and the highlands—all tended to the creation and perpetuation of mutually hostile groups. Naturally, the policy of the crown of isolating one colony from the other, even to the extent of discouraging the building of good roads, accelerated these tendencies. Yet, as will be pointed out later, the efforts of Spain to array the various classes of the population into hostile groups was not entirely successful. Toward the end of the period the Creoles and the mestizos began to sink their differences and to unite against their common oppressor. The rise of this "new society" spelled the beginning of the end of Spanish rule in America.

Intellectual Conditions in Spanish America. The Universities. Both the crown and the Church were eager to provide the colonies with the means of higher education, as the term was then understood in Spain. A little more than half a century after the founding of the first permanent settlement, schools of advanced education were established, and by the end of the colonial period,

a chain of colleges or universities extended from Mexico on the North to Buenos Aires on the south. The two most famous universities, both founded in 1551, were Mexico and Lima, the latter also known as the University of San Marcos. Both played an important part in the intellectual life of the colonies; by the early eighteenth century the enrollment in San Marcos had increased to nearly two thousand students. These institutions were modeled on the University of Salamanca and enjoyed all the privileges of this institution, their degrees being recognized in Spain. Later some twelve provincial universities were founded, whose degrees were valid only in the Indies.

Both in their organization and their courses of instruction the universities showed strong clerical influence. A faculty of letters and philosophy prepared the student for the professional schools, of which by all odds the most important was the faculty of theology. There were also departments of civil and canon law, and toward the end of the period faculties of medicine began to appear. With certain exceptions the spirit of the universities was mediæval; the training was good in scholasticism, but little attention was paid to science or history. In the two latter fields the Inquisition, supported by the state, exercised its baneful influence.

In theory the university corporation enjoyed large autonomy; in practice it was largely under church control. Vacancies in professorships were filled by the *"oposición"* system, according to which the members of the faculty selected the candidate who best acquitted himself in a kind of intellectual tournament. This method of choosing professors frequently aroused such passionate interest among both town and gown as to lead to riots and even bloodshed. The successful candidate had to be confirmed by the king or the Council of the Indies before he could assume office.

In addition to the universities there was a large number of *colegios* or colleges, chiefly under the control of the Jesuits. Those institutions afforded the sons of the Creoles opportunities for secondary education.

The City of Mexico in the eighteenth century was notable for its establishments for the promotion of science, fine arts, and

technical education. The School of Mines was superior to any other institution of its kind in America. Interest in botany was furthered by the creation of a botanical garden on the grounds of the Castle of Chapultepec. The Academy of Fine Arts contained casts of the most notable sculptures of Europe and turned out artists of local renown. The famous equestrian statue of Charles IV by the Mexican sculptor, Tolsa, was regarded by Humboldt as comparable to the most famous works of antiquity or the Renaissance.

Works of Spanish-American Scholars. Colonial Literature. Fortunately there were certain fields of knowledge which remained outside the purview of the Inquisition. In linguistics, anthropology, archæology, and history of pre-Columbian America, Mexican and Peruvian scholars made lasting contributions. For especial mention may be singled out Garcilasso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish soldier and an Inca princess, whose works on the Inca civilization are invaluable to later historians; the Peruvian Acosta, author of the Natural and Civil History of the Indies; and the three learned priests, Fathers Sahagún, Toribio de Motolina, and Durán, the authors of monumental works on the early history of Mexico. In the domain of pure literature the achievements of colonial Spanish America were less noteworthy. The long list of works which flowed from the press —which was established as early as 1538 in Mexico—was confined chiefly to catechisms, martyrologies, and bombastic and laudatory verses on the occasion of public events. A number of writers, however, had found a permanent place in Spanish American letters. Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594) published a long epic poem *"La Araucana,"* in which is described, with many embellishments and digressions, the interminable struggle between the Spanish settlers in Chile and the tough-fibered Araucanian Indians. A century later a real poetic genius appeared in Mexico. Sor Juana de la Cruz, as she was called after she had taken the veil, wrote three volumes of poetry and plays. Her lyrics and satirical poems are among the best produced during the whole colonial epoch.

Colonial Periodicals. Periodical literature forms an interesting chapter in the intellectual life of the colonies. As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century it was customary in Mexico to publish on the arrival of the annual fleet *Hojas volantes* (literally, flying sheets) containing news from Spain and the rest of Europe. In 1722 was first published *La Gazeta de Méjico,* which, with certain interruptions, lasted until 1809. In 1722 appeared *El Mercurio Volante,* devoted "to curious and important matters dealing with physics and medicine." Other notable Mexican periodicals were the *Diario literario de Méjico* (1768), a scientific publication entitled *Observaciones sobre fisica, historia natural y artes útiles* (1782), the *Gaceta literaria de Méjico* (1778), the *Diario de Méjico* (1805).

South America lagged behind Mexico. In 1790 appeared the *Diario erudito, económico y comercial de Lima.* While this periodical lasted only two years, the *Mercurio peruano de historia, literatura y noticias públicas,* which launched its first number in Lima in 1791, has existed with certain interruptions to our own day, and is one of the chief glories of Peruvian literature. In 1791 and in 1792 periodicals began to be published in Santa Fé and Quito respectively. It was not until 1801 that periodical literature appeared at Buenos Aires in the shape of *El Telégrafo mercantil, rural, político-económico e historiógrafo del Rio de la Plata.* In spite of the high-sounding titles of certain of these journals, they seem trivial and jejune when compared with our modern press. Moreover, they always labored under the disability of a strict and generally stupid censorship. Yet meager as they were, they contributed to that intellectual ferment among the colonists, which helped to prepare the way for the struggle for independence.

Early Portuguese Settlements in Brazil. One great section of the South American continent has been reserved for special treatment. Brazil, as has already been related, was discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese navigator Cabral, while on his way to India. Lying well within the zone assigned to Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas, this region was naturally claimed by the

Portuguese crown and soon took the name of "Brazil," from the valuable dyewood found in its luxuriant forests. But during the next quarter century Portugal was too engrossed in building up a great empire in India to accord much attention to her trans-Atlantic possession. For a time Brazil became a kind of no man's land, used by Portugal, partly as a dumping ground for criminals and other undesirables, partly as a convenient stopping point on the route to the Far East.

The Establishment of the Captaincies. The increasing commercial importance of such Brazilian products as Brazil wood and sugar, and the fear of French and Spanish encroachments, finally led King John III (1521-1557) to take a more active interest in his American dependencies. In 1532 Brazil was divided into a number of hereditary captaincies or fiefs, following a system which had been successfully applied in the Azores and Madeira. These grants, which extended in theory westward to the line of demarcation and embraced from 6000 to 12,000 square leagues, were distributed to favored persons, chiefly courtiers, who took the title of *donatarios.* Their rights and privileges were far-reaching. In return for the payment of a few taxes, the donatarios were empowered to issue land grants, levy taxes, found cities, and appoint municipal officers and judges. The crown reserved for itself the right to impose export taxes, the monopoly of Brazil wood and spices, and the fifth of all precious stones, gold, and silver, which might be discovered.

The captaincy system soon proved defective. Of the twelve fiefs granted, only ten were occupied by their owners. The most flourishing of the settlements was that of São Vicente, not far from the present city of Santos. This grant was bestowed on Martim Agonso de Souza, who in 1530 had explored the coast of Brazil and penetrated some distance into the interior. Within twenty years the captaincy of São Vicente counted a population of some five thousand, including such prosperous communities as Santos and the thriving town of São Paulo, over the edge of the coast range on the fertile and healthy plateau of Piratininga. Pernambuco, in northern Brazil, also flourished, becoming, thanks

to the energy of its owner, Duerte Coelho, a great sugar-producing region. But the remaining captaincies[1] were threatened with lingering death, if not total extinction. In the absence of any central organization or authority, the scattered settlements were in no position to protect themselves against the attacks of hostile Indians or to ward off the aggression of French corsairs. The colonists themselves were completely at the mercy of the donatarios, who frequently abused their authority.

Brazil Brought Under the Direct Control of the Crown. King John III at length realized the inadequacy of the system of captain-donatarios and determined to bring Brazil directly under royal control, through the appointment of a governor-general. His choice fell upon Thomé de Souza, a Portuguese noble, who had won his laurels in Africa and India. In 1549 de Souza took up his new duties at Bahia, which for over two hundred years remained the capital of Brazil. The governor-general was given full power, in both civil and criminal affairs. The political and judicial rights of the donatarios were revoked, although they were permitted to remain in possession of their fiefs, pending their acquisition by the crown. The various captaincies were now placed under royal officials, nominally, at least, subordinate to the governor-general. Strategic points along the coast line were fortified and the colonists were organized into local militias. Settlers began to find their way to Brazil in increasing number, until at the end of the sixteenth century Bahia and Pernambuco each had a population of two thousand whites, in addition to four thousand slaves, and a large number of converted Indians.

Contest with the French. Portugal's claim to Brazil did not pass unchallenged. From the beginning of the sixteenth century —and possibly even earlier—daring French navigators from Brittany and Normandy had visited the Brazilian coast in search of the valuable dyewood. With the founding of the Portuguese

[1] The remaining captaincies (extending from north to south) were Maranhão, Rio Grande, Ceará, Itamaracá, Bahia, Ilhéos, Porto Seguro, Espirito Santo, Parahyba do Sul, Santo Amaro.

settlements these French sailors frequently turned corsairs and preyed upon the ofttimes helpless colonists. In the middle of the sixteenth century a determined effort was made by the French to establish a permanent colony. The author of the plan was a certain adventurer named Nicolas de Villegagnon, who succeeded in enlisting the support of Admiral Coligny and later Calvin by the assurance that the future settlement would serve as a refuge and asylum for Huguenots and other Protestants. The French king also lent his sanction and in 1555 Villegagnon, with a small body of colonists, including a number of Protestants, took unopposed possession of the bay of Rio de Janeiro. But this promising beginning bore no fruit. Villegagnon showed himself to be unfitted for his task. The first settlement was established on a rocky island in the harbor. Food and water were lacking, and the Indians were needlessly antagonized. Through his arbitrary rule Villegagnon exasperated the colonists and finally alienated the Protestants by his efforts to force them to become Catholics. Thus was checked what might have developed into a great migration from France and Geneva. Villegagnon finally returned to Europe, and the struggling colonists, cut off from re-enforcements, easily succumbed to the attacks of the Portuguese under the Governor-General Men de Sá. A few years later (1561) Men de Sá founded the city of Rio de Janeiro. Although the French made other spasmodic attempts to establish themselves in Brazil—notably in 1711 when Admiral Duguay Trouin held Rio de Janeiro for a time—the dream of establishing "Antarctic France," as a pendant to the great French possessions in North America, forever vanished.

Brazil Under Spanish Rule. "The Sixty Years' Captivity" (1580-1640). Since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella one of the ambitions of the Spanish crown had been to bring all of the Iberian peninsula under its control. The death, in 1578, of the romantic, but foolish young Portuguese king, Sebastian, while engaged in Morocco on an absurd crusade against the Moors, furnished the desired opportunity. As Sebastian was without direct heirs, Philip II claimed the throne by virtue of the fact

that his mother was the daughter of King Emanuel. Through bribery and pressure he induced the Portuguese Cortes in 1580 to recognize him as king. Philip in turn promised to respect the laws of Portugal and appoint no Spaniards to important offices, either in the mother country or the colonies. The effect of Spanish control on the administration of Brazil will be noted later. The most important result of the "sixty years' captivity" as affecting Brazil was to expose Portugal's largest colony to the attacks of Spain's enemies, particularly the Netherlands.

The Dutch in Brazil. The latter half of the sixteenth century had witnessed the loss to Spain of the Spanish Netherlands and the rise of the Dutch republic. The expiration, in 1621, of a twelve years' truce gave the thrifty Dutch burghers an opportunity not only to attack their traditional enemy, but also to secure a share in the lucrative commerce of the New World. The Dutch West India Company, described by the Brazilian historian Varnhagen "as a body of pirates enjoying the sanction and support of the state" determined to attack Brazil as one of the most vulnerable sections of Spain's far-flung colonial empire. Bahia was captured in 1624, but was recovered by a Spanish fleet the following year. Spurred to greater effort by this initial rebuff, the Dutch in 1630 sent out a fleet of fifty vessels which easily captured the city of Pernambuco in the center of the rich sugar-growing section. Within the next few years the whole of northern Brazil came under their control. As governor of their new possession, they chose perhaps the ablest man in Holland, Count Maurice of Nassau-Siegen, a prince of the House of Orange and grandson of William the Silent.

The governorship of Count Maurice (1637-1644) represents the high-water mark of Dutch power and influence in South America. His statesmanlike program included reconciliation between the Dutch and the Portuguese; the grant of religious toleration to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; and the daring experiment of granting the inhabitants of the colony a share in the government through the creation of the first parliament in South America. Extensive works of civic improvement were

begun in the capital, rechristened Moritzstadt. Distinguished artists and scientists were invited to make known the beauties and resources of Brazil to the world. But the efforts of this able administrator—a ruler in many respects far in advance of his time—to lay an enduring foundation of Dutch dominion in the New World were wrecked by the policy of greed and gain of the Company and the shifting of the political scene in Europe. The directors of the Company, intent chiefly on dividends, refused to support Maurice in his far-reaching plans and he resigned in 1644. Four years earlier Portugal had recovered her independence from Spain; a wave of patriotic fervor soon spread to Brazil and the colonists determined to try conclusions with the Dutch. A rebellion launched by a wealthy plantation owner, João Fernandes Vieira, proved beyond the power of Maurice's weak successors to crush, ill-supported as they were at home. In 1661 the Dutch renounced all claims on Brazil in return for certain trade concessions.

Work of the Jesuits. Relations with the Indians. To an extent even greater than in Spanish America, the Jesuits moulded the religious and social life of Brazil. At the instance of John III, one of the great patrons of the Jesuit Order, a number of Jesuit fathers accompanied the first governor, Thomé de Souza, to Bahia. Other Jesuits followed, notably José de Anchieta, frequently called the "Apostle of Brazil." The purpose of the Jesuits was to raise the moral level among the Portuguese colonists and, above all, to protect and convert the aborigines. As early as 1554 Anchieta established at the town of São Paulo a school to train neophytes and proselytes into missionaries. This school in time developed into a famous college, to which the sons of the colonists and mestizos resorted. Anchieta himself soon acquired a mastery of the Indian language, into which he translated hymns and a catechism. As rapidly as the Indians were converted, they were settled in villages similar to the missions in Spanish America.

In their efforts to civilize the Indians the Jesuits ran counter to the economic interests of the Portuguese colonials. Like the

Spaniards in the Antilles, the Portuguese regarded a cheap labor supply as necessary to their economic existence, and they proceeded to enslave the Indians and to force them to work on their plantations. The Jesuits now used all of their influence at court to secure protection for the Indians through royal legislation. In 1574 King Sebastian decreed that the colonists might enslave Indians captured in legitimate warfare, but the Indians in the reductions or missions were to remain under the entire charge of the Jesuits. Other legislation followed, at times favoring the colonists, at times the Jesuits. Naturally, neither side was satisfied; it was partly to escape the slave raids of the Portuguese that the Jesuits established the system of reductions in Paraguay already described. In northern Brazil the contest was carried on with varying fortunes. Father Antonio Vieira, who arrived in Brazil in 1653, secured ten years later a royal decree placing the Indians under the protection of his order. Thanks largely to his heroic devotion and perseverance, a chain of missions was begun in the Amazon valley which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, extended from the Atlantic to the slopes of the Andes. The work of the Jesuits, though at times tarnished by selfish motives, was of lasting importance. One of Brazil's most brilliant diplomats and scholars, the Baron of Rio Banco, declared: "The conquest and colonization of Portuguese America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was in part their work. As missionaries they succeeded in winning thousands of Indians to civilization and the native race became, thanks to their devotion, a considerable factor in the formation of the Brazilian people."

Negro Slavery. The various restrictions on the enslavement of the Indians caused the colonists to turn to an imported labor supply. The Portuguese establishments in Africa, particularly along the Guinea coast, served as an inexhaustible reservoir of negro slaves. It is a melancholy fact that the Portuguese far outstripped all other Europeans in the exploitation of the slave trade. Beginning with the early sixteenth century, negro slaves were imported into Brazil in increasing numbers. They were

chiefly located in the northern captaincies, where they were employed on the sugar plantations. Those negroes who survived the unspeakable horrors of the passage across the Atlantic were in general well treated; emancipation was freely practiced and a large class of freedmen began to appear. Intermarriages between the negroes and the lower classes among the colonists was frequent and the mulattoes became an important element in the population. By the end of the colonial period the slaves exceeded the white population by fifty per cent.

Expansion into the Interior. The Work of the Paulistas. The Bandeiras. The exploration of the interior of Brazil was not alone the work of the Jesuits. The interior of the captaincies of Bahia and Maranhão in northern Brazil was early settled by emigrants from the coast, in quest of land suitable for farming and stock raising. These *sertanejos,* as the inhabitants of this inland region or *sertão* were called, were so long cut off from contact with the rest of the world that they have developed certain peculiar traits which set them apart from the remaining Brazilians; their history presents a certain parallelism to that of the so-called "poor white" stock in the mountains of Tennessee.

Further south great expeditions known as *bandeiras* were organized, with the double object of securing Indian slaves and discovering mines and precious metals. Here the *Paulistas,* or inhabitants of the captaincy of São Paulo, played the chief part. Of part Indian blood, the Paulistas formed the most stubborn, energetic, and independent element in the colony. Their expeditions were at times immense raids, from which they returned with booty in shape of Indian slaves; again they were veritable treks or migrations in which entire families participated. The settlement of the interior of Brazil, a shifting of population corresponding somewhat to the western movement in the United States, was in considerable part their work.

The Discovery of Gold and Diamonds. From the very beginning of Portuguese occupation, efforts were made to locate gold and silver deposits as well as precious stones. Inducements of various kinds were held out by the crown; a royal decree

offered to the fortunate discoverer a diploma of nobility and admission to one of the orders of knighthood. But nearly two full centuries elapsed before the quest was rewarded. At length in 1693 gold deposits were definitely located in what is now the state of Minas Geraes. The news aroused the wildest excitement and most extravagant hopes; a great stampede or gold rush took place which anticipated in many respects the days of '49 in California. In solitudes hitherto unbroken save by the passage of an occasional bandeira, towns sprang up as if by magic. The Paulistas and the *emboabas,* as those from Portugal and other sections of Brazil were called, waged pitched battles for the possession of the most desirable workings. Not until 1720, when Minas Geraes was erected into a separate captaincy, was royal authority fully established. Its capital was the city of Villa Rica de Ouro Preto, the "Rich City of Black Gold," the wealth and extravagance of whose citizens is still attested by the palaces, stately churches, and imposing public buildings, which invest the present moribund city with such a romantic charm. Before the gold washings became virtually exhausted early in the nineteenth century, it has been estimated that the total yield from the mines was between a quarter and a third of a billion dollars. The yield from diamonds, which were discovered in Minas in the early eighteenth century and soon became a royal monopoly, has never been definitely ascertained.

The Establishment of New Captaincies. The growth of population and its expansion into the interior necessitated certain changes in the captaincies. The immense extension of the Brazilian coast line led the crown in 1621 to create the so-called "State of Maranhão" which embraced a large portion of Northern Brazil including the better part of the Amazon valley. It was directly responsible to the government of Lisbon; the term "the Brazils" still used by some English writers, recalls this division of the colony. In the eighteenth century the State of Maranhão was split into the captaincies of Maranhão, Pará, Piauhy, and Ceará. Further south now appeared captaincies under the title of Parahyba and Rio Grande do Norte. Bahia,

with its capital of San Salvador, grew through the absorption of the old captaincies of Ilhéos and Porto Seguro. Southern Brazil witnessed important administrative changes in the eighteenth century. The great captaincy of São Paulo, created in 1709, was an outgrowth of the captaincy of São Vincente and a portion of the captaincy of Santo Amaro. The establishment of the captaincy of Minas Geraes in 1720 was followed by the creation of the great interior captaincies of Goyaz and Matto Grosso in 1744 and 1748 respectively. In the extreme southern part of the colony the captaincy of Santa Catharina was established in 1711, and out of the debatable ground claimed by both Portugal and Spain was carved the captaincy of Rio Grande do Sul in 1807. With certain minor exceptions, these administrative divisions served as the basis of the provinces under the empire and the states under the republic.

A glance at the map will show that in the creation of the new captaincies, particularly Pará, Matto Grosso, and Goyaz, the boundaries of Brazil were being pushed far to the west of the demarcation line established by the Treaty of Tordesillas. In 1750 a treaty was signed at Madrid, in which the Portuguese claims to large sections of the Amazon and Paraná basins were acknowledged by Spain. By the terms of this treaty a survey of the boundaries of the Portuguese and Spanish possessions was to be made. The results of the survey were highly favorable to Portugal. Though the Treaty of Madrid was annulled by a convention signed by Spain and Portugal in 1761, a new treaty was signed at San Ildefonso in 1777, which reaffirmed in the main the demarcation of 1750, but provided for the exact determination of the boundary line. This survey, while never completed, was accepted until well toward the end of the nineteenth century as the boundary between Brazil and a number of her Spanish-American neighbors. Thus by the treaties of 1750 and 1777 Portugal gained a clear title to an area at least twice that accorded her by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The Government of Colonial Brazil, Colonial Administration. The machinery of the government of Brazil was never as com-

plicated as that of Spanish America. Prior to the Spanish era (1580-1640) there existed in Portugal no body specifically charged with the management of colonial affairs. The finances and revenues of Brazil were under the general supervision of an inspector of finances, whose power was curtailed, however, by a semiecclesiastical body, known as the *Mesa da Consciencia e Ordens,* created in 1532. This council nominated to the king the members of the higher clergy and administered the revenues of the powerful Order of Christ. Philip II in 1591 suppressed the inspector of finances and turned over his duties to a Council of Finance *(Conselho da Fazenda).* In 1604 Philip III, in order to strengthen the colonial administration, created a Council of the Indies *(Conselho da India)* which had most of the prerogatives of its Spanish model. Unfortunately, its usefulness was largely neutralized by constant interference from Madrid. The separation from Spain and the advent of the Braganza dynasty (1640) caused no sudden break in the Portuguese colonial administration, and most of the institutions implanted by the Spanish Hapsburgs remained. The Council of the Indies, renamed the Transmarine Council *(Conselho do Ultramar),* had general charge of the civil, religious, and military affairs of the colony. But the nomination of the viceroys and governors rested with the Council of State, the highest body in the kingdom.

The local administration was never based on any well-thought-out plan, but followed roughly that of the mother country without regard to local conditions. The attributions of the donatarios have already been discussed. After the middle of the sixteenth century their powers were gradually absorbed by royal officials. These bore various titles: captain, captain-general, governor. They had charge of the civil and military administration of their respective captaincies and were responsible to the king. The more important captaincies were permitted to correspond directly with the metropolis. Justice was administered by local judges appointed by the captain; and in more important cases by judges *(juizes de fóra, ouvidores)* sent out by the government at Lisbon.

Two higher tribunals *(tribunales da relaçâo)* were established in Bahia in 1608 and in Rio de Janeiro in 1751 respectively. After the restoration (1640) Brazil was technically a viceroyalty, but the title of viceroy was only occasionally employed. In 1763 the capital was transferred from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Theoretically, the viceroy and captain-general residing at the capital exercised supervisory authority over the other captains-general; in reality his power outside his own captaincy was largely nominal. Brazilian municipalities were governed by a council known as a *senado da camera,* whose functions were somewhat similar to those of the *cabildos* in Spanish America.

Pombal and Brazil. In the latter half of the eighteenth century Brazil came under the influence of one of the greatest statesmen Portugal has ever produced. The Marquis of Pombal, as prime minister of King Joseph I, endeavored to put into effect in both the metropolis and the colonies the principles of enlightened despotism then sponsored by the leading sovereigns of Europe. The reforms which he introduced into Brazil profoundly affected the social, administrative, and religious life of the colony. In pursuance of a policy of centralization, he abolished the last vestige of the rites of the donatarios and transferred the capital from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. The Indians were given full liberty and accorded the same legal rights as the whites. To augment the insufficient labor supply, he encouraged immigration; no less than twenty thousand laborers migrated from the Azores and Madeira to Brazil. To further commercial relations between Brazil and Portugal, he created two privileged companies, one of which, the "Company of Grão Para and Maranhão," proved of great benefit to northern Brazil. Less successful was Pombal in his endeavors to create a royal monopoly in the diamond fields and to increase the production of gold. He strengthened the military forces of the colony, improved the fortifications of the chief harbors, and reorganized the fleet.

The act for which Pombal is chiefly remembered was the expulsion in 1759 of the Jesuits from both Portugal and Brazil.

In spite of the indubitable services which the Jesuits had rendered in exploring Brazil and in civilizing the Indians, they had stirred up violent antipathies, both among the Portuguese colonists and in the mother country. They were accused of having absorbed much of the wealth of Brazil through their system of reductions and widespread commercial interests; certain it is that they had become sufficiently opulent and powerful to arouse the fears of the most absolute monarchs of Europe. Taking advantage of a plot against the king, in which the Jesuits were charged—though without proof—of being implicated, Pombal persuaded King Joseph to expel them from Portugal and the colonies. The work was carried out with brutal thoroughness, especially in Brazil. Here their estates were confiscated, their colleges turned over to other orders; and their reductions, on which they had labored so earnestly, fell into ruins and the neophytes reverted to barbarism.

Brazil at the End of the Eighteenth Century. Estimates of the population of Brazil in 1800 range from 2,800,000 to 3,300,000. The population was concentrated in the four captaincies of Minas Geraes, Bahia, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro. The number of free white inhabitants did not exceed one million; the remainder consisted of slaves—estimated at a million and a half—, freedmen, and civilized Indians. Of the uncivilized Indians no reliable statistics exist. Save in Minas Geraes agriculture was the chief occupation; next to sugar the important crops were cotton and tobacco; the cultivation of coffee was just beginning in the south. While no such antagonism as existed between the Creoles and Spaniards in Spanish America was to be found in Brazil, dissatisfaction with the existing *régime* was not entirely lacking. Influenced by the example of the United States, a band of young enthusiasts, many of them poets, headed by a visionary, nicknamed Tiradentes, launched a revolutionary movement in Minas in 1789. The government put down the revolt with ruthless and unnecessary severity. When Brazil finally came to sever her connection with the mother country, it was not through violence and armed revolution, but

by a natural and peaceful transition, in striking contrast to the course followed by her Spanish-American neighbors.

Comparison of Colonial Brazil and Colonial Spanish America. The Portuguese colonial administration as applied to Brazil, though equally corrupt and inefficient, was not as rigid or harsh as the Spanish system. The disparity in size and eventually in population, between the metropolis and her immense transatlantic possession, tended to prevent any widespread oppression. The Brazilians were perforce left more or less to their own ways and devices, and, needless to say, this neglect was distinctly salutary. Though Portugal attempted to establish a commercial monopoly, she was only partially successful. A system of regular "caravans" was in vogue, but the number of ships allowed and the numbers of stations visited freed it from the oppressive features of its Spanish prototype. The fact that gold and diamonds were not discovered until the end of the seventeenth century caused the colony to follow a settled and extensive agricultural economy at the very time that the energies of the Spanish colonists were centered on the exploitation of mineral wealth. In social and religious matters, lines were less sharply drawn in Portuguese than in Spanish America. No sharp and rigid caste distinction existed in Brazil; the higher positions in the administration were open to Brazilians and Portuguese alike, the only conditions being that the applicant be a graduate of the University of Coimbra. The Inquisition was never established in Brazil; those accused of heresy were sent to Lisbon for trial, but their number was never great. In the field of education Brazil distinctly lagged behind Spanish America; the colony possessed no universities; such higher education as existed was in the hands of the Jesuits. Save for an occasional brief period, no printing presses were to be found in Portuguese America until 1808, all reading matter being imported from Portugal. The wealthy colonists frequently sent their sons to complete their education at Coimbra.

Considering the paucity of her resources both in population and wealth, the achievements of Portugal in Brazil challenge

our respect if not our admiration. During the course of three centuries Portugal made good her claims to half of South America —a region eighty times the size of the mother country—and settled and colonized a goodly portion of this immense domain. This achievement is the more worthy of note as it was accomplished at a time when Portugal's energies were being dissipated in a vain attempt to build up a great empire in India and the Far East.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

Importance of the Period. It is no exaggeration to say that the struggle for independence in Spanish America was among the most significant political and social phenomena of the nineteenth century. From a position of colonial dependency extending over three centuries, Spanish America was transformed into a congeries of independent states, founded on democratic principles, with constitutions and governments modeled more or less consciously on those of the United States. That a movement of such transcendent importance has until recently been so little studied is due partly to a general indifference to Latin-American history, and partly to the apparent confusion resulting from the multiplicity of characters involved, and the bewildering list of military operations extending over immense areas. In the present chapter an effort will be made succinctly to state the causes of the revolt against Spain, to analyze the decisive military campaigns, to place the leaders of the movement in their true perspective, and to summarize the results. The independence of Mexico may be more conveniently treated in the chapter dealing with that country. The separation of Portuguese America from the mother country will be discussed in the chapter on Brazil.

The Change in Attitude of the Creoles and Mestizos. The Growth of a New Society. Foremost among the causes of the wars of independence was the increasing dissatisfaction of the Creoles and mestizos at the treatment accorded them by Spain. The discrimination in the appointment to all important offices in Church and State to which they were subject has already been discussed. As long as the Creoles and the mestizos were separated

by a social cleavage resulting from the artificial caste system imposed by Spain, they could only suffer their grievances in silence. But early in the eighteenth century appeared clear indications that these classes were beginning to fuse into a new party, opposed to the opinions and plans of Spain, and bitterly resentful of the uncompromising and repelling attitude of the peninsular-born Spaniards. As typical of the advent of this society was the fact, noted with interest by Humboldt, that the descendants of the Spaniards no longer called themselves *Criollos* or Creoles, but *Americanos*. As a result of this social revolution the two most numerous classes of the population gradually became convinced that their interest could be safeguarded only through the control of public affairs. The social background for armed revolt was thus prepared.

Economic Causes of the Revolution. The Rôle of the Inquisition. The growing impatience at Spain's commercial and religious policy was also an outstanding cause of the revolt against the metropolis. Here we may detect some of the same factors as were operative in the case of the English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. Yet the exploitation of the Spanish colonies in favor of the mother country, and the absurd system of monopolies which sacrificed the prosperity of the colonists to a few privileged interests in the Peninsula, were far worse than anything of which New England had to complain. Paradoxically enough, the reforms of Charles III increased rather than allayed resentment, since the colonists were brought to realize more keenly the injustices of which they had been the victims. The progress of Jamaica, Havana, and Buenos Aires while under British control was an object lesson by which many of the colonists were deeply impressed.

As faithful Catholics the Creoles generally acquiesced in the religious policy of the crown, although they resented the monopolization of higher ecclesiastical offices by the Spaniards. But among the educated creoles one institution became increasingly odious. We have already seen how the Inquisition, supported by the authorities, became especially zealous in the eighteenth

LATIN AMERICA
ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

Showing approximately the Political Divisions

LEGEND

X Battlefields ◎ Capitals

century in the censorship of all printed matter introduced into Spanish America. This attempt to insulate the colonies from all contact with the great intellectual movements of contemporary Europe exasperated the Creoles and added flame to their resentment against the government. The English traveler Stevenson vividly describes the eagerness with which the Peruvians vented their feeling in an attack on the buildings of the Holy Office in Lima in 1812.

Effects of the American and French Revolutions. The successful revolt of the thirteen English colonies was not without its reaction on Spanish America, although its influence may easily be exaggerated. It will be recalled that in the course of the American Revolution Spain united with France in the latter's attack on England and was among the first of the European powers to recognize the independence of the United States. The situation was highly anomalous; in coming to the assistance, if only indirectly, of the revolting English colonists, Spain had tacitly accepted a principle fatal to her own colonial system. This fact was clearly recognized by the ablest minister of Charles III, the Count of Aranda. To prevent the ultimate loss of the colonies, this statesman suggested to the king that he renounce all direct control of his transatlantic possessions, with the exception of Cuba and Porto Rico, and establish three *infantes* in America, one as king of Peru, another as king of Mexico, and the third as king of the region adjacent to the Caribbean; the Spanish sovereign keeping the title of emperor. This project, whose realization might indefinitely have postponed the independence of Spanish America, was never seriously considered by the Spanish crown.

The French Revolution had a profound repercussion in Spanish America. The ground had already been prepared through a gradual infiltration within educated Creole circles of the doctrines of some of the great French thinkers of the eighteenth century. In defiance of the Inquisition the works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau had been smuggled into Spanish America and found thousands of readers. The famous *Encyclopédie,* of

which Diderot was the chief editor, was a veritable arsenal from which the Creoles drew their weapons in their attacks on Spain's system of government. The outbreak of the French Revolution was hailed with enthusiasm and its development followed with intense interest. Several of the protagonists of the Wars of Independence, notably Miranda and Bolívar, were eyewitnesses to some of its most stirring scenes. Its principles spread rapidly and served as a great example to the future leaders of the struggle for independence. In 1794 the Declaration of the Rights of Man was translated into Spanish and distributed throughout northern South America by a prominent Creole of New Granada, Antonio Nariño, who nearly paid for his temerity with his life.

Preliminaries of the Struggle for Independence. The Expedition of Miranda. That sooner or later an open conflict with the mother country was inevitable admits of little doubt. But the actual outbreak of the revolution and to a certain extent its character were determined by a number of apparently unrelated events, occurring in widely different localities in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Of these preliminaries the first in point of time was the expedition of Miranda, the "precursor of the revolution in South America." Francisco de Miranda was born in Caracas in Venezuela in 1754. During the course of the American Revolution he fought in the West Indies with the French, and the success of England's revolted colonies may have led him to believe in the possibility of a revolution in his own land. From 1765 until 1806 he traveled widely in the United States and Europe, seeking official support for an expedition with which to launch a revolt in the Spanish colonies. Though for a time the English Prime Minister, Pitt, held out some slight encouragement, Miranda was finally obliged to rely on his own efforts. In 1806 he sailed from New York with some two hundred men and landed on the Venezuelan coast. He captured the city of Coro, but the Venezuelans failed to rally to his support and the attempt had to be abandoned. None the less the expedition caused an immense commotion through northern South America,

and when the revolution actually broke out four years later, Miranda was looked upon as its logical chief.

Capture and Loss of Buenos Aires by the English. In the same year as Miranda's ill-starred expedition an attempt was made to wrest Buenos Aires from Spanish control. The British had just captured Cape Colony from the Dutch; on his return from Africa, Sir Home Popham, the commander of the British fleet, though without explicit orders from his government, determined to occupy the capital of the viceroyalty of la Plata. Upon the landing of a body of British troops under General Beresford, the pusillanimous viceroy fled to Montevideo and Buenos Aires was occupied without resistance. But a reaction quickly set in. Led by Jacques de Liniers, an able French officer sent over by Napoleon, the militia of Buenos Aires attacked the British with such success that Beresford was forced to surrender. In the following year another British force, under General Whitelock, captured Montevideo and crossing the Plata estuary attacked Buenos Aires. The inhabitants, now fully prepared, not only repelled the British assault but forced the evacuation of Montevideo. Whitelock's incompetence led to his recall and dismissal.

The effect on the Creole elements of the Platine provinces of this double victory was far-reaching. Within a space of two years the colonists, deserted by their viceroy, unaided by the home authorities, had defeated two well-equipped English forces. They had acquired a self-confidence and reliance in their own resources which were to stand them in excellent stead in the days to follow. They had also learned for the first time the meaning of untrammeled commerce with the world. English merchantmen had followed the English warships and the markets were flooded with foreign goods priced so cheaply as to be within the reach of all. The economic isolation of Buenos Aires had ceased, and all attempts by Spain to restore it were bound to be futile. The double victory over the English was in a sense a prelude to the political and economic liberation of the provinces of la Plata.

Seizure of Spain by Napoleon. The chain of events which precipitated the revolution took place in Spain. In 1808 Napoleon,

bent upon bringing Spain within the orbit of his empire, took advantage of a quarrel between Charles IV and his son Ferdinand—"two clowns as disgusting as any that have ever masqueraded in a royal mantle" [1]—to force them to resign their royal rights, whereupon Napoleon's brother Joseph was placed upon the Spanish throne. This duplicity and violence aroused a tempest of resentment and hatred throughout Spain. The Spanish people would have nothing of Joseph and, led by a self-appointed junta, which afterward assumed the functions of a regency, rose *en masse* against the French. No less determined were the inhabitants of Spanish America not to accept the rule of Napoleon or recognize Joseph as their ruler. A great wave of loyalty to Ferdinand—now a prisoner in France—swept through the colonies. When the emissaries of the Junta of Seville arrived in America they were greeted with tremendous enthusiasm; donations were freely offered; in New Spain in less than ten days three million pesos were collected.

In this crisis the colonists were necessarily more or less thrown on their own resources. While the authorities, such as the viceroys and captains-general, were disposed to accept orders from the Council of Regency, many of the Creoles professed to believe that, with the temporary suppression of the Bourbon dynasty, all bonds between the colonies and the metropolis were automatically severed. The peculiar juridical relations existing between the Indies and Spain lent a certain basis to this contention. Accordingly, while loud in their protestations of loyalty to the imprisoned Ferdinand VII, the Creoles took matters in their own hands and set up loyal governments, generally known as *juntas governativas,* pending the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. From the first, however, there were a number of Creoles of the type of Miranda who aimed at nothing less than complete independence. Circumstances played directly into their hands. The Spanish officials, long accustomed to the arbitrary exercise of authority, naturally looked askance at the self-constituted local governments; this hostility was shared by the

[1] Ferdinand Schwill, *Political History of Modern Europe,* page 402.

Council of Regency in Spain, with the result that within a short time the revolt of the colonists against the French intruders was turned to a revolt against all Spanish authority, and the rupture between the mother country and the colonists was complete.

Synopsis of the Course of the Wars of Independence.—The fifteen years covered by the Wars of Independence (1809-1824) fall into several clearly marked periods. In 1809 the first tremors of the revolution began to be felt throughout the entire length of Spanish America; in the following year all the colonies, simultaneously, without any previous understanding, rose in insurrection, proclaiming the principle of self-government which was soon transferred as explained above, into a demand for complete independence. For a time these revolts were successful, but by 1815 Ferdinand VII, now restored to his throne, had succeeded in smothering all these movements save in the province of la Plata. With this exception Spanish power seemed more firmly riveted on American soil than ever.

But in 1817, thanks to the genius of San Martín, the great revolutionary hero of southern South America, there were put into effect a plan of campaign and a policy of emancipation which were to embrace the entire continent. Under San Martín a well equipped army made a spectacular passage of the Andes, defeated the Spaniards in Chile in two memorable battles, and, transported by an improvised fleet under the command of Lord Cochrane, forced the Spanish forces from Lower Peru and entered Lima, the viceregal capital, in triumph. While the southern half of the continent was thus being liberated, Bolívar, the hero of the Wars of Independence in northern South America, cleared the royalists both from New Granada and Venezuela after a memorable passage of the Andes comparable only to the similar feat performed by San Martín further south. With the two extremities of the continent thus freed from Spanish control, Bolívar and San Martín met at Guayaquil to combine their forces for the definite expulsion of the royalists. Quickly realizing, however, that effective co-operation was impossible, San Martín magnanimously withdrew from the field, Bolívar and his

lieutenants at the battle of Ayacucho (1824) utterly defeated the Spaniards in their last stronghold in Upper Peru. The independence of Spanish South America was won.

The Revolution in Venezuela and New Granada. Logically the cradle of the revolution was to be found in the Captaincy of Venezuela; here the seeds sown by Miranda began to bear fruit. In April, 1810, the *cabildo* in Caracas constituted itself a revolutionary junta and, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII, deposed the captain-general and assumed virtually independent power. And when the Cadiz Regency committed the folly of declaring the Venezuelans rebels, the leading Creoles determined to make the break with Spain complete. In the spring and summer of 1811 the various cabildos sent members to a congress, which proceeded to draw up a regular declaration of independence, asserting that the seven provinces which made up the captaincy-general of Venezuela were free and independent states; as president of the new republic was chosen Miranda, who had newly arrived from England to take charge of military operations.

For a variety of reasons, this the first of the South American republics, was destined to be short-lived. The strong royalist faction rallied about a Spanish naval lieutenant named Monteverde, and prepared to offer vigorous resistance to Miranda. But the greatest blow suffered by the revolutionists was a terrible earthquake, which on Holy Thursday, 1812, the first anniversary of the meeting of the congress, all but destroyed Caracas. Throughout the country the earthquake avoided the royalist strongholds, but laid waste the cities which had gone over to the revolutionists. In the face of such a divine judgment, the followers of Miranda quickly fell away and in July, 1812, the president signed a capitulation, permitting the free departure of the revolutionists. But Monteverde violated the capitulation; Miranda's own comrades turned upon him, and the precursor of South American independence remained a prisoner, dying four years later in a dungeon at Cadiz.

Though practically all of Venezuela was now in the hands of the royalists, the mantle of Miranda had fallen upon the

shoulders of one of the two great heroes of South American independence. Simón Bolívar was at this time twenty-nine years of age. Born of a wealthy Creole family of Caracas, he was sent as a youth to Europe to complete his education. While in Paris he witnessed some of the closing scenes of the French Revolution. He imbibed some liberal ideals and dabbled in the works of Rousseau, Hobbes, and Spinoza. At the same time he witnessed the rise to power of Napoleon, for whose character he professed great admiration. In 1805 on a subsequent voyage to Europe he visited Rome, and on the summit of the Aventine Hill he vowed that he would allow himself no rest until "he had delivered America from the yoke of her tyrants." From October, 1806, to January, 1807, Bolívar traveled in the United States and had an opportunity to witness at first hand the workings of democratic institutions. Later he returned to Venezuela, where he lived the life of a great seignior on his estates. When the elimination of Miranda left Bolívar the leader of the revolutionists, he was described as puny and ill-proportioned in body, with an anxious and melancholy countenance. He had the virtues and vices of the typical Creole. But he was fired with a great ideal and was able to communicate his enthusiasm to others. His military ability and his political capacity will appear more clearly as we follow his career through the Wars of Independence.

Realizing that resistance to the royalists in Venezuela was for the time being hopeless, Bolívar crossed over into New Granada, which, like Venezuela, had declared for independence. In a number of minor engagements he defeated the weak Spanish forces and, after opening the Magdalena River to the patriots, returned to Venezuela, proclaiming "War to the death and no quarter to the Spaniards." In August, 1813, he entered Caracas, and assumed the title of *Libertador,* or Liberator—an appellation by which he was known throughout the remainder of his life.

Bolívar's triumph was of brief duration. A Spanish sergeant named Boves, who had been dismissed from the army for misconduct, obtained a royalist commission and proceeded to enroll a force of cavalry among the savage cowboys of the Venezuelan

llanos, as the great pasture lands of the Orinoco basin were called. These half-naked barbarians proved almost irresistible. Crouched low on the necks of their horses, charging upon their foe with long lances, they recalled descriptions of the Huns of the time of Attila. The forces of Bolívar were no match for these *llaneros* and, after suffering a crushing defeat, the Liberator fled again to New Granada. Before the end of 1814 Venezuela had fallen into the power of the royalists for the second time.

Meanwhile Ferdinand VII had recovered his throne and set about vigorously to put down the revolution. A typical Bourbon, the king had learned nothing and forgotten nothing during his exile. He refused to recognize the changes wrought by a decade of economic independence, made no effort to reconcile the provinces, and by his shortsightedness and obstinacy made further revolution inevitable. For a time, however, his policy of vigorous suppression seemed successful. A large, well-equipped expedition, consisting of sixty transports and ten thousand troops, originally intended for the Platine provinces, was finally directed to the Spanish Main. It was commanded by General Morillo, an able soldier who had fought his way up from the ranks. The Spanish forces landed at Cumaná on the Venezuelan coast, but, finding the province pacified and Boves fortunately removed by death, Morillo moved westward into New Granada. This country had passed through five years of stormy independence, largely consumed with the squabbles of local juntas and the witless debates of a garrulous congress. Bolívar attempted to rally the revolutionary forces, but with the troops under his command he could make no headway against Morillo's seasoned veterans. Realizing the futility of further resistance, he abandoned New Granada and fled to Jamaica. The royalist reaction throughout all of northern South America was now complete. The leading republicans, especially in Bogotá, were executed by Morillo as traitors. The Spanish general boasted that he had not "left alive, in the kingdom of New Granada, a single individual of sufficient influence or talent to conduct its revolution." The first great revolutionary movement on which Miranda and Bolívar had

pinned such high hopes was, to all outward seeming, a complete failure.

Revolution and Reaction in Chile. The course of the revolution in Chile was equally disastrous. In September, 1810, a *Junta de Gobierno* was proclaimed in Santiago and in the name of the imprisoned Ferdinand VII quietly assumed the reins of power. In the following year the junta convoked a general congress, to which all sections of Chile sent deputies. Dissension quickly appeared, however. The so-called "Patriotic Party" *(partido patriota),* consisting of the great Creole landowners, were hostile to violent innovations or complete separation from the mother country. Opposed to these were the *radicales* or *exaltados,* who desired full independence and the establishment of a republic. The outstanding members of this latter group were Juan Martínez de Rozas, a distinguished lawyer, and Bernardo O'Higgins, the son of Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, former captain-general of Chile and later viceroy of Peru. The altercations among the Chileans were further increased through the unscrupulous ambition of three gifted brothers named Carrera. The leader of these, José Miguel Carrera, had won a reputation for bravery and daring while fighting against the French in the Peninsula. Returning to Chile in 1811, he threw himself into politics. With the aid of his brothers he overturned the existing government by means of a military revolt and set about to govern the country as dictator.

The Spanish authorities in Peru were not slow in taking advantage of these dissensions. The Viceroy Abascal early in 1813 sent down an army to restore order. Faced with this menace, the Chileans laid aside their quarrels. The Carreras were forced to give way to O'Higgins, who was made commander in chief of the revolutionary forces. Hostilities were interrupted by a brief truce, which was the signal for renewed dissensions among the Chileans. Finally, in 1814, Abascal dispatched an army under General Osorio which at the little town of Rancagua on October 1st, overwhelmingly defeated the patriots. Royal authority was everywhere re-established;

frightful reprisals were visited upon the revolutionists; with great difficulty O'Higgins with a few of his officers made his escape across the Andes and sought asylum in Argentina.

The Revolution in the Platine Provinces. We have already noted with what success the inhabitants of Buenos Aires succeeded in repelling the two British attacks in 1806 and 1807. The feeling of self-reliance engendered by this double victory partly explains the readiness with which the cabildo of Buenos Aires appointed a governing junta to take over the administration of the province. From one point of view this "glorious revolution" of May 25, 1810, may be regarded as the birthday of Argentine independence, as Spain never succeeded in re-establishing her rule. But for the next few years the Platine provinces were destined to pass through a trying period of instability frequently degenerating into anarchy. For a time the situation was dominated by an able and aggressive young Creole named Mariano Moreno, sometimes characterized as "the soul of the Revolution of 1810." Though secretary of military affairs, he endeavored to promote popular education and he established a public library at Buenos Aires. But his austerity and ruthlessness alienated many of his followers, and he died while on a forced mission to Europe. In 1811 the junta gave way to a triumvirate, which, with frequent changes in personnel, attempted to govern the country during the next two years. In 1813 the executive power was lodged in the hands of a "Supreme Director."

During this whole period Buenos Aires continued to yield nominal allegiance to Ferdinand VII. But when in 1815 the Spanish king, once more on the throne, showed unalterable determination to reconquer the colonies the anomaly of the position of Buenos Aires became obvious. In 1816 most of the provinces of the old viceroyalty sent delegates to Tucumán, where on July 9th was proclaimed the independence of the "United Provinces of South America." As Supreme Director was chosen Juan Martín Pueyrredón; comparative order was established; and Buenos Aires was declared the seat of the national government.

While Buenos Aires was thus passing through six years of

internal dissensions, serious military reverses resulted in the loss of certain outlying portions of the extensive viceroyalty of la Plata. Paraguay declined to recognize the authority of the patriot junta as Buenos Aires and in January, 1811, crushed a small army under Manuel Belgrano, sent by Buenos Aires to enforce obedience. The Paraguayans proceeded in July of the same year to set up their own governing junta at Asunción. An impotent and ignorant congress drew up a fantastic form of government with the supreme power resting in the hands of two "Consuls." In 1813 an astute and unscrupulous lawyer, José de Francia, prevailed upon a subservient congress to elect him "Perpetual Dictator" of the Republic. Until his death in 1840 he governed Paraguay in the manner of an Oriental despot.

The province on the east bank or "Banda Oriental" of the Uruguay was also lost to Buenos Aires. Separatist tendencies were here fostered by an ambitious and forceful local chieftain named José Artigas, "the Founder of the Uruguayan Nation." Incensed at the refusal of the members of a constituent assembly, held in Buenos Aires in 1813, to admit the delegates of the Banda Oriental, Artigas broke with Buenos Aires and eventually found himself engaged in a contest with the Spaniards, the government of Buenos Aires, and the forces of the Prince Regent of Brazil. He was decisively defeated by the Portuguese and after continuing a desultory guerrilla warfare for two years longer sought asylum with Francia in Paraguay (1820). The Banda Oriental was, meanwhile, occupied by the Portuguese from Brazil (1817) and remained under Portuguese-Brazilian control until 1828, when it was erected into an independent state under the name of the Republica Oriental del Uruguay.

The revolutionary government of Buenos Aires was threatened with a disaster far greater than the loss of Paraguay and the Banda Oriental. In 1810 the "army of the North" was dispatched by the governing junta to liberate Upper Peru (the present Republic of Bolivia) which at that time was a part of the viceroyalty of la Plata. After several initial successes the revolutionists were defeated at the village of Huaqui and lost

control of Upper Peru (June, 1811). Belgrano, in spite of his disastrous campaign in Paraguay, was now placed at the head of the remnants of the Army of the North. Twice the royalists were defeated: once near Tucumán on September 24, 1812; and again at Salta on February 20, 1813. These patriotic victories saved the revolution from almost certain ruin, as they effectively checked the plan of the Spanish General Tristán to invade the Platine provinces. On the other hand, Belgrano's hopes that the patriots might regain control of Upper Peru proved illusory. Violating their parole given after Salta, the royalists destroyed Belgrano's army at Vilcapujio on October 1st. Although this and subsequent defeats forced the total evacuation of Upper Peru, it proved of distinct service to the patriotic cause for it placed in command the great hero of Argentine independence, José de San Martín.

San Martín and the Army of the Andes. The man to whom the fate of the revolution in southern South America was now committed had passed through a long apprenticeship in the profession of arms. He was born in 1778 in the territory of Missiones, of which remote region his father was governor. He was sent as a youth to Spain, where he was educated for a military career. For over twenty years he fought in the Spanish army in Africa, Portugal, and Spain. In 1812 he resigned from the Spanish army and offered his services to the revolutionists. Entrusted in 1814 with the command of the Army of the North, he at once saw the futility of trying to dislodge the Spaniards from the plateau of Upper Peru, as such an attempt necessitated the maintenance of an army separated from its base of supplies by a thousand miles of impassable roads. He turned over the command to General Alvear, and took the governorship of the backward province of Cuyo, lying on the eastern slopes of the Andes, and directly east of Santiago, Chile.

In accepting this unimportant post in an obscure province, San Martín was acting in pursuance of a plan which was to alter profoundly the military and political history of South America. His project, in short, was to organize and equip at

Mendoza, the capital of the province, a small, well-disciplined army, cross the Andes, drive the royalists from Chile, and advancing northward by sea, attack the Spaniards at the very center of their power, at Lima, the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. By these means the liberation of the entire southern half of the continent would be consummated.

When first broached, the plan of San Martín might well have appeared chimerical. He had only a handful of recruits when he entered upon his task at Mendoza. A few weeks later he was joined by a small body of Chileans who had fled across the Andes after the disaster at Rancagua. Among the refugees was Bernardo O'Higgins, who in the days to come was to render San Martín inestimable services. The next two years were passed in feverish activity. In forging his weapon, San Martín displayed amazing industry and resourcefulness. The equipment of an entire army had to be created on the spot. From an improvised arsenal flowed a steady stream of cannon and ammunition; a powder factory worked by water power produced gunpowder sufficient for the army. A cloth factory furnished uniforms for the soldiers; a medical staff was created and placed under a naturalized English physician. Particular attention was devoted by San Martín to the commissariat; provisions were collected sufficient for a protracted campaign, with especial reference to the needs of the troops in passing over high altitudes. San Martín's forces as finally organized consisted of 3,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, 1,200 militia, and a small but excellent artillery. For the transportation of the ammunition train, artillery, and commissariat across the mountains an army of 9,000 mules was assembled.

The Passage of the Andes. San Martín's real difficulties now began. It was necessary to transport his entire army, with guns and baggage, over passes so narrow as to give room for only one mounted man at a time. Two such passes were available, Uspallata and Los Patos, each over twelve thousand feet in height. Early in 1817 San Martín successfully moved his entire army across these Andean heights without the loss of troops or

artillery, although two-thirds of the mules and horses perished in the high altitudes. By his system of spies and through false information conveyed to the Spaniards through treacherous Indians, to whom San Martín pretended to have confided his plans, the royalist generals were quite in the dark as to his movements. The patriots were, therefore, enabled to debouch into the Chilean plains practically without opposition.

The passage of the Andes by San Martín represented a turning point in the struggle for South American independence. It also ranks as one of the great feats in military annals. It is frequently compared to the passage of the Alps by the armies of Hannibal and Napoleon; but in the crossing of the Great St. Bernard, Napoleon led his troops to the height of only eight thousand feet, nearly five thousand feet lower than the summit of Uspallata pass. It constituted, moreover, a remarkable example of the results of discipline, combined with foresight and scrupulous attention to details on the part of the commander.

The Battles of Chacabuco and Maipú. The next step in San Martín's comprehensive plan, namely the liberation of Chile, was accomplished during the ensuing fifteen months. At the village of Chacabuco, near the foot of the mountains, a portion of the royalist forces were defeated by San Martín on February 12, 1817, and the road to Santiago lay open. San Martín and O'Higgins were received in the Chilean capital with the wildest enthusiasm. The cabildo appointed the Argentine general Supreme Director of Chile, but he declined the honor, which was then conferred on O'Higgins. On the first day of the following year the independence of Chile was formally proclaimed, the declaration being written by O'Higgins himself. But the Spanish authorities had no intention of yielding up Chile without a struggle. General Osorio, the victor of Rancagua, was sent down from Peru with 3,400 veteran troops. But, after winning a temporary success in the vicinity of Talca, Osorio was completely defeated by San Martín on April 5, 1818, on the plain of Maipú, some nine miles from Santiago. The independence of Chile was now an accomplished fact.

"The Liberating Army of Peru." Though Chile was free, San Martín considered his task but half accomplished as long as Peru, the heart of royalist power in America, remained unconquered. The indispensable prerequisite to a successful invasion of Peru was control of the sea, as the thousand miles of intervening desert were quite impassable for an army. To Chile, and more especially to O'Higgins, belongs the credit of creating a navy which might bid defiance to Spain. By various means there was assembled a nondescript fleet consisting of two old East Indiamen, a British corvette, several Spanish warships whose crews had rebelled, and a number of brigs. That this little squadron was able to wrest from Spain the control of the Pacific and serve as a convoy for San Martín's army was due to the organizing ability and genius of Thomas, Lord Cochrane, later the Earl of Dundonald. Cochrane was generally regarded as the greatest naval commander since the death of Nelson. But his great qualities were marred by a violence of temper and the injection of personal aims in all his public undertakings. Dismissed from the British navy on a rather doubtful charge, he had been engaged in 1817 by the Chilean agent in London. On his arrival at Valparaiso he set about with tremendous enthusiasm to reorganize and augment the fleet collected by O'Higgins. With eight vessels, each commanded and officered by Englishmen, he began an active warfare against the Spanish naval forces. Though the strongly fortified harbor of Callao successfully resisted his attacks, he captured Valdivia in southern Chile and Spain was deprived of her best harbor on the Pacific.

Meanwhile San Martín was actively pushing forward his plans for the liberation of Peru. At this juncture he found himself faced with a cruel dilemma. The government at Buenos Aires, hard pressed by its enemies within and terrified at the prospect of attack by a great expedition assembling at Cadiz, lost all interest in the liberation of Peru and peremptorily ordered San Martín and his army to recross the Andes. But the Argentine general had come to the conclusion that the destruction of Spanish power in Peru was more important than the triumph of

a local faction in Buenos Aires; and when the revolt of the army at Cadiz and the consequent abandonment of the expedition freed the Platine provinces from the menace of invasion, San Martín refused to be moved by either pleadings or commands. This is the famous "disobedience of San Martín," for which he has been so severely censured by his critics. From now on San Martín ceased to be in the service of Buenos Aires. He conducted the campaign against the Spanish forces in Peru as a brigadier-general of Chile.

At length on August 20, 1820, a liberating squadron, consisting of eight warships and sixteen transports, set sail from Valparaiso with San Martín, Cochrane, and some 4,400 troops on board; of these 1,800 belonged to the "Army of Chile" and the remainder to the "Army of the Andes." It was the largest and finest fleet which had ever sailed the waters of the Pacific. The expedition for the liberation of Peru was hardly under way before dissensions developed between Cochrane and San Martín. The admiral was a strenuous leader and a war without actual fighting was incomprehensible. He was eager, therefore, immediately to try conclusions with the royalists. San Martín, on the other hand, desired to secure the freedom of Peru if possible by peaceful means. He well knew that a large number of the inhabitants were favorable to his cause and only waited a good opportunity to join his forces. His campaign was partly one of education. He was not ambitious to figure as a conqueror. He hoped that his mere presence would win over Lima. In a proclamation issued shortly after his arrival in Peru, he declared: "I come to fulfill the expectations of all those who wish to belong to the country that gave them birth and who wish to be governed by their own laws. On that day when Peru shall freely pronounce as to the form of her institutions, be they whatever they may, my functions shall cease."

Conditions in Peru. Evacuation of Lima (1821). When early in September San Martín disembarked his troops at the town of Pisco, 150 miles south of Lima, his cause might well have seemed hopeless. The viceroyalty of Peru was rightly

regarded as the bulwark of Spanish power in America. The great revolutionary movement which had swept through Spanish America in 1809-1810 had left Peru all but unaffected. Discontent with the existing *régime* had found vent in secret societies and plots which the Viceroy Abascal had suppressed without difficulty. In fact, but one insurrection had touched the territory of Peru proper. In 1814 an Indian cacique named Pumacagua, incited by the reports of a revolt in the Platine provinces, deposed the Spanish officials and set up a junta at Cuzco. But his Indian and Creole followers constituted a mob rather than an army, and the rebellion was pitilessly crushed by the soldiers of Abascal the following year. When San Martín landed on Peruvian soil in 1821, Pezuela, Abascal's successor, commanded a well-equipped army of over twenty thousand men; in Lima alone were stationed nearly nine thousand, and as many more were distributed at strategic points throughout the interior. In the face of such overwhelming odds, San Martín followed the dictates of prudence in allowing persuasion and propaganda to disintegrate the forces of the royalists. One of his officers, Colonel Arenales, proved an efficient educator. With a small body of troops he made a great circuit throughout the interior of Peru, avoiding a conflict with any large royalist forces, but leaving a long line of revolutionized towns in his wake. The situation of the royalists in Lima soon became precarious. The rigorous blockade maintained by Cochrane added to the prevailing dissatisfaction. In January, 1821, the half-mutinous soldiers deposed Pezuela and elected La Serna, one of their number, to succeed him. Cochrane, meanwhile, had broken the inactivity to which he felt himself condemned, by the amazing feat of capturing the frigate *Esmeralda,* which was anchored under the very guns of the powerful fortress of Callao. This exploit greatly heartened the patriots, whose numbers steadily grew. At length on July 6, 1821, La Serna evacuated Lima; three days later San Martín entered the viceregal capital. Shortly afterward Cochrane, having completed his task, resigned his Chilean command and entered the service of Brazil.

Proclamation of Peruvian Independence. San Martín as Protector of Peru. On July 28th, at the instance of San Martín, an assembly of notables solemnly proclaimed the independence of Peru. In the absence of all organized government San Martín assumed the supreme power with the title of "Protector," promising at the same time to surrender control as soon as the complete liberation of Peru should be accomplished.

San Martín had now reached the zenith of his career. His policy of moderation had been justified; Lima had fallen into his hands virtually without striking a blow. Yet his task of freeing Peru from the Spaniards was only partially accomplished as long as the viceroy with a large and well-equipped army continued in possession of the mountainous region in the interior, the royalist heart of South America. Further help was necessary; no additional assistance was to be expected from Buenos Aires or Chile, and San Martín turned to the north, where Bolívar had won a series of spectacular triumphs over the Spaniards. To the Protector of Peru it seemed logical and fitting that the struggle for independence should be closed by the expulsion of the royalists from their last stronghold in Upper Peru, by the combined forces of Bolívar and himself. But before describing the memorable meeting between the two revolutionary leaders, it is necessary to outline briefly the successive steps by which northern South America had been definitely liberated from the yoke of Spain.

Bolívar and the Congress of Angostura. We have already seen how the royalist forces under General Morillo had recovered northern South America for Ferdinand VII in 1815. But Bolívar, from his exile in Jamaica and Haiti, only waited for a favorable juncture to renew the contest. In December, 1816, he returned to the mainland and, after a series of desultory engagements in which he was generally defeated, succeeded in establishing himself at Angostura (now known as Ciudad Bolívar), the chief city in the Orinoco valley. Here, with the aid of José Páez, an illiterate mestizo with such qualities of leadership as later won him the presidency of Venezuela, he organized the *llaneros* much as Boves had done and soon gained

command on the line of the Orinoco. But Bolívar felt it necessary to give the revolutionary movement a certain standing in the eyes of Europe and the rest of America. In December, 1817, President Monroe had recognized the Venezuelan patriots as belligerents; in London Bolívar's agent was obtaining loans, arms, clothing and, above all, recruits. In October, 1818, the Liberator summoned at Angostura a congress of delegates. In a notable address delivered on February 15, 1819, he outlined his views on government: absolute democracies he declared were unsuitable for Spanish America; a federal system of government made for disintegration and anarchy; the executive power should be centered in a president clothed with extensive authority. Over his repeated protests Bolívar was elected President of the Venezuelan Republic. He then proceeded with tremendous vigor to prepare for the campaign which was to result in the definite liberation of all northern South America. It is questionable, however, if Bolívar's plans could have been carried out, had it not been for the opportune arrival of the English legion. The conclusion of the Napoleonic wars had left thousands of veterans without employment, and Bolívar's agent had little difficulty in contracting for some five thousand men, mostly British and Irish. The fate of these foreign troops, who rendered yeomen's service in the struggle for independence, was not an enviable one. Some five-sixths of their number perished in war, or from the results of famine, pestilence, and the hardships of a tropical climate.

The Passage of the Andes and the Battle of Boyacá. Bolívar now put into execution one of the great strategic movements of the war. West of the plains bordering the upper Orinoco rises the giant range of the Andes, and just over its crest lies the fertile and densely populated plateau of Cundinamarca, the very heart of New Granada. For three years the Spaniards had been in possession of this region and until they could be dislodged all hope of the liberation of northern South America was futile. Leaving his lieutenant, Páez, to hold the line of the Orinoco with his llaneros, Bolívar set out in the spring of 1819 with an army of some three thousand men, including five hundred British,

on his thousand-mile march. In the face of tremendous obstacles the patriots crossed the Andes over the bleak plateau or *páramo* of Pisba at an elevation of thirteen thousand feet. In this passage, which in many respects recalls the famous march of San Martín over the Andes, a hundred men perished from the cold and not a horse survived.

The strategy of Bolívar was crowned with complete success. At the bridge over the little river Boyacá, not far from the capital Bogotá, Bolívar dispersed or made prisoners the entire force of the Spanish general Barreiro (August 7, 1819). On learning of this disaster to the royalists, Juan de Sámano, the last viceroy of New Granada, fled from Bogotá and Bolívar entered the capital without resistance. Small as was the number of troops engaged, Boyacá was the most important battle fought in northern South America; and in its results is to be compared to Chacabuco and Maipú. The wealthiest and most populous portions of New Granada, with their large revenues, definitely came into the possession of the patriots. Shortly after Bocayá, Bolívar made a flying trip to Angostura, and the day following his arrival the Venezuelan Congress solemnly proclaimed the union of the former viceroyalty of New Granada with the captaincy-general of Venezuela, the new state to be known as the Republic of Colombia, frequently spoken of as the Republic of "Great Colombia." Bolívar was promptly chosen president and military dictator (December, 1819).

The Battle of Carabobo and the Definite Liberation of Venezuela. No important campaign was fought during the year 1820. As a result of a revolution in Spain which forced Ferdinand VII to restore the liberal constitution of 1812, the government at Madrid attempted a reconcilation with the colonists. After much negotiation Morillo, who had kept his hold on northern Venezuela, arranged an armistice with Bolívar and returned to Spain, leaving General de la Torre in command of the royalists. As the patriots would accept nothing short of complete independence, the armistice was of short duration. When it expired Bolívar moved his forces from the llanos against the bulk of de la Torre's

troops, which covered the approach to Caracas and the plateau of Valencia. The armies met at Carabobo on the plain south of the city of Valencia on June 24, 1821. Here what threatened to be a defeat of the revolutionists was turned into a victory through the steadfastness and heroism of the British legion. The last organized resistance in Venezeula was now crushed and Bolívar entered Caracas unopposed. The great task of freeing northern South America was virtually achieved; under the presidency of the Liberator the Republic of Colombia took her place among the nations of the New World, and before the first anniversary of the Battle of Carabobo gained the formal recognition of the United States.

The Presidency of Quito Liberated by Sucre. The two great movements for the liberation of the continent, led by San Martín in the south and by Bolívar in the north, were now converging toward a common focus. The presidency of Quito, known today as Ecuador, was still throughout the better part of its extent in the hands of the royalists. To secure this territory and to complete the deliverance of South America by the extirpation of Spanish power in Upper Peru, was the aim of both the Protector of Peru and the Liberator of Colombia. On May 24, 1822, Bolívar's lieutenant, General Antonio José de Sucre—regarded by many as the ablest general on the patriot side—defeated the royalists on the slopes of the volcano Pinchincha, overlooking the city of Quito. The former presidency was incorporated with the Republic of Colombia and Bolívar's dream of a great federation of American states under his guidance was one step nearer realization.

The Interview of San Martín and Bolívar at Guayaquil. In July, 1822, the two great heroes of Spanish American independence met for the first and last time. The details of what took place at the secret conference at Guayaquil—in some respects the most dramatic episode of the struggle for independence—have never been fully revealed. It is possible, however, to reconstruct the essential features of the interview. San Martín had come to Guayaquil to devise means of bringing the war to an end. He

hoped apparently that the Liberator would place a considerable body of Colombian troops at his disposal; instead Bolívar offered only three battalions. San Martín then offered to serve under Bolívar if he would only send sufficient troops against the royalists in Peru; this also Bolívar declined on the trivial pretext that he could not leave Colombian territory without authorization from Congress. San Martín at length realized that with a man of Bolívar's ambition effective co-operation was impossible. Rather than jeopardize the success of the revolution he determined, with an abnegation and unselfishness perhaps unique in Spanish-American history, to retire to private life and leave Bolívar the glory of bringing the revolution to a victorious end.

San Martín in Retirement. Following the interview at Guayaquil, San Martín returned to Lima. Here he convoked a national congress and after resigning in September his office of Protector he issued his farewell address to the Peruvian people. "The presence of a fortunate soldier," he declared, "however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to a newly founded state. I have proclaimed the independence of Peru. I have ceased to be a public man." San Martín did not in any sense desert his post. Not until he had put Peru on a war footing and invited Bolívar to proceed south and complete the liberation of Spanish America, did he set sail for Chile. After a brief sojourn in Santiago and Buenos Aires he went to Europe. He died at Boulogne in 1850. Thirty years later his remains were brought to Argentina and deposited with imposing rites in the cathedral at Buenos Aires.

The Battles of Junín and Ayacucho. Bolívar eagerly accepted San Martín's invitation and on September 1, 1823, landed at Callao with his army of Colombian veterans. A moribund Congress proclaimed him dictator and conveniently dissolved itself. Bolívar set out at once to crush the royalists in Upper Peru, the last stand of Spanish power in America. He commanded an army of 9,000 men, drawn from every section of the liberated territory, and was assisted by a number of able lieutenants, chief of whom were Sucre, the victor of Pichincha, and

General Miller, an English officer who had served in the Peninsular War. The first clash took place on August 5, 1824, on the plain of Junín at an elevation of some twelve thousand feet, not far from the present mining center of Cerro de Pasco. Here the Spanish general Cantarac suffered a crushing defeat as a result of a brilliant cavalry charge by General Miller. Three months later Sucre with army of 6,000 patriots met 8,000 royalists under the Viceroy La Serna at the town of Ayacucho, midway between Lima and Cuzco. Not inaptly has Ayacucho been styled the Yorktown of South America. When the battle was over La Serna and Cantarac, now prisoners, signed a capitulation for the whole army including the 23,000 royalist troops still remaining in Peru. "The war is ended and the liberation of Peru completed," wrote Sucre to Bolívar. The independence of Peru and Spanish America were indeed accomplished facts, although Callao held out fourteen months longer and a few royalist guerilla bands remained in the field until 1830.

The Creation of the Republic of Bolivia. In April, 1825, Bolívar undertook a triumphal progress through the chief cities of Peru as far as Postosí. Meanwhile Sucre, whose victory had won him the title of "Grand Marshal of Ayacucho," had issued summons for a congress composed of delegates from Upper Peru. This body met in August at Chuquisaca—later rechristened Sucre—and formally declared for the independence of Upper Peru. In honor of the Liberator the name of Bolivia was bestowed upon the new republic. In the following year both Peru and Buenos Aires recognized the independence of Bolivia.

The Last Years of Bolívar. The creation of the Republic of Bolivia marks the zenith of the career of the Liberator. His grandiose plan for a confederation of South America states under his own leadership seemed on the eve of accomplishment. He drew up for Bolivia a constitution which provided for three legislative houses, and a president appointed for life and empowered to nominate his successor. Subsequently both Peru and Colombia accepted a similar organization. Bolívar returned

to Lima in 1825 and ruled in Peru for more than a year as dictator. He now had visions of a vast organization of all of the nations of the Western Hemisphere and for this purpose issued summons for a Pan-American congress to be held at Panama at 1826. But for reasons which will be explained elsewhere this gathering accomplished practically nothing. Meanwhile his control of Colombia was slipping from his grasp, and in November, 1826, he left Lima for the north. His departure was followed by the overthrow of his supporters both in Peru and Bolivia. For two years he governed as dictator of Colombia, but all his efforts to hold together the great northern republic proved futile. In 1829 Venezuela broke away under Bolívar's lieutenant, Páez; in the following year Quito and Guayaquil set up the Republic of Ecuador. Completely disillusioned and broken in body and spirit, Bolívar died at the little town of Santa Marta in Colombia on December 17, 1830.

The Aftermath of the Wars of Independence. Obstacles Confronting the New States. As will be explained in the concluding chapter even before the battle of Ayacucho the independence of Colombia, the United Provinces of la Plata, Chile, and Mexico was recognized by the United States, while similar action was taken by Great Britain in 1825 and 1826. But in the case of these, as well as the other Latin-American states whose independence was subsequently recognized the struggle for genuinely democratic government had only begun when they found themselves freed from Spanish control. All the republics which emerged from the collapse of Spain's colonial domain were confronted with certain obstacles which it would require decades to vanquish. Without some appreciation of these handicaps much of the subsequent history of these countries becomes unintelligible.

Disastrous Effects of the Wars of Liberation. The struggle for independence left a number of pernicious legacies. To a considerable degree it was a civil war between revolutionists and loyalists. The contest was carried on with great cruelty; each side was guilty of useless bloodshed; Bolívar himself in 1813

proclaimed "the war to the death." As a consequence, in many districts the most promising, stable, and vigorous elements of the population were all but exterminated; it was only too frequently the case of the survival of the unfit.

Another unfortunate heritage of the Wars of Independence was the predominance won by the military element. It was only natural that those who had been victorious in war should wish to be supreme in peace; San Martín had foreseen this peril when he declared that the presence of a fortunate soldier is a menace to a newly founded state. With permissible exaggeration a Peruvian writer has declared that the lieutenants of Bolívar dominated the political life of Spanish South America for half a century; certainly this was true for the northern part of the continent. Military chieftains known as *caudillos* succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity, and during this early period the political history of a number of these countries is largely an account of the overthrow of one military dictator by another.

The rule of the caudillos was facilitated through the existence of certain forces of disorder awakened by the revolution. With the loosening of all Spanish authority the half-barbarous population of the frontiers became conscious of its strength, and, utterly benighted in political matters, became the ready tools of ambitious political or military leaders. Thus the *gauchos* of Argentina and the *llaneros* of Venezuela contributed to the disorders with which these countries were afflicted.

Lack of Preparation for Self-Government. In the preceding chapter reference was made to the lack of any opportunity for political self-expression among the colonists, save to a very limited extent in the case of the *cabildos* or town councils. It is in this absence of self-government and the existence of widespread ignorance and illiteracy, save in a small restricted class, that the colonies of Spain present perhaps the most striking differences to the colonies of England in North America. Yet even in the United States, with the long tradition of civil liberties and local assemblies, the first years following the Revolution

were marked by such pitiable weakness on the part of the legislature, that the constitutional convention of 1787 was regarded by many as the only hope of saving the republic. It was unreasonable to expect that the Spanish Americans, with no schooling in self-government, exhausted and brutalized by twelve years of warfare, with the mass of the people immersed in apathy and ignorance, should at once have understood the successful operation of free institutions. The great revolutionary leaders, San Martín and Bolívar, were under no illusions as to the former colonists' lack of preparation for citizenship in self-governing commonwealths. To tide over a difficult period of political apprenticeship, San Martín would gladly have seen a monarchical *régime* established in Spanish America, provided it had none of the despotic features of the Spanish monarchy. These views were shared for a time by such men as Belgrano, Rivadavia, and Pueyrredón. The project was even broached of inducing Spanish *infantes* to come to America as heads of these constitutional monarchies. Bolívar also had monarchical leanings. But he preferred a native ruler to a foreign importation and, in the absence of any material for the formation of an hereditary American dynasty, he hoped to achieve the same ends—stability and progress—by means of a great federation of states of which he should be the head. The constitution drawn at Bolívar's instance of Bolivia, and accepted for a time by Peru and Colombia, with a president elected for life and empowered with the right to nominate his successor, reveals closely the aims of the Liberator.

But neither a limited monarchy as envisaged by San Martín nor a great federation as planned by Bolívar was possible. The idea of a monarchy was repugnant to the great mass of the mestizos and former Creoles, to whom the very word was synonymous with slavery and despotism. To the popular mind there was no distinction to be drawn between the absolutist Fredinand VII and the ruler of a constitutional monarchy like England. The progress and prosperity of the United States, then regarded as the exemplar of successful democracy, furnished

an unanswerable argument to the opponents of monarchy. A confederation of states, headed by a powerful executive, might conceivably have staved off the period of anarchy to which Spanish America fell victim. But the obstacles to Spanish American solidarity proved insuperable. During the colonial epoch the chief bond of union had been attachment to the monarchy; when that disappeared there were no other cohesive elements to take its place. Moreover, there were certain very practical obstacles to any kind of union among the former Spanish colonies. Immense distances between centers of population; lack of all adequate means of communication—Bogotá and Buenos Aires could communicate with Europe almost as easily as with each other—intense local jealousies; differences in physical environment; ethnological distinctions based on a greater or less mixture of Indian or African blood—all tended to the disintegration of Spain's magnificent colonial domain along the lines of the old administrative divisions. The Spanish policy of divide and rule, it is unnecessary to add, materially contributed to this result.

Economic Handicaps of the New States. At the close of the Wars of Independence economic conditions in most of the new states were bad. Even without the destruction and demoralization resulting from nearly a decade and a half of warfare, the obstacles to progress would have been great. During the colonial epoch, as has already been pointed out, manufacturing industries were almost nonexistent. The interests of agriculture had been systematically sacrificed to the exploitation of mineral wealth. To such an extent was this true that the balance of income and expenditure of certain regions corresponding to the most prosperous and progressive present-day republics showed a deficit which had to be met by the income from districts rich in mineral products. Thus Chile drew a *situado* or grant from Peru; the Audiencia of Santo Domingo (which included Cuba) from New Spain. With independence such subsidies, of course, ceased. At the same time the production of the mines, owing to internal disorders, showed an immense falling off. Nor did the advent of

independence produce any immediate improvement in agriculture. For a long time the primitive methods and economic inequalities of colonial days persisted. The land continued to be worked in great estates; efforts to abolish primogeniture and mortmain were fiercely resisted; and the status of those who tilled the soil was frequently little better than that of serfs. These economic disabilities would obviously retard the growth of a virile, freedom-loving middle class such as has contributed so much to the achievement of free government in other lands.

Ill-Understood Political Theories. In the absence of democratic traditions or practice in self-government, those who were responsible for the constitutions of the new states fell back on the experience of other peoples. And like all theorists they had an ingenuous belief in the efficacy of governmental forms or processes without reference to their adaptation to local needs or conditions. They were impressed by the spirit and achievements of the French Revolution and influenced by French political writers. At the same time, they admired the constitution of the United States, which they frequently accepted as a model for their own. Such borrowings were generally unintelligent, with no realization of the fundamental differences between conditions in the United States and those prevailing in Spanish America. This confusion reveals itself, for instance, in the terms applied to the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies which divided almost every state. Those leaders who believed in a closely-knit, centralized government, with a strong executive, instead of calling themselves federalists, as they might well have done following the example of the Federalists of the United States, became known as Unitarists or Unitarians. On the other hand, those who favored separatist tendencies, decentralization, local autonomy, and a relatively weak executive were called Federalists. This peculiar distinction, with which all students of Latin-American constitutional history should be familiar, will find its most striking illustration in the political evolution of Argentina.

From the foregoing brief analysis of some of the obstacles which the Spanish-American republics were obliged to face at

the beginning of their independent career, it should be reasonably clear why, in the realm of politics, theories and practices were so long at variance. The story of the progress, frequently slow and painful, toward the achievement of self-government and the triumph of democratic principles will form one of the themes of the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER IV

BRAZIL

The Historical Development of Brazil, 1808-1922

The Transference of the Portuguese Court to Brazil. The year 1808 witnessed an abrupt and dramatic break in the colonial history of Brazil. During the preceding year the Kingdom of Portugal had been drawn within the orbit of Napoleon's grandiose plans for the domination of Europe. Although Prince John, who was acting as regent for his mother, the demented Queen Maria I, had endeavored to placate Napoleon by adhering to the continental blockade against England, the Emperor determined to depose the Braganza dynasty and divide Portugal between France and Spain. When Prince John learned that an army under Junot was advancing upon Lisbon, he accepted the advice of Sir Sidney Smith, commander of the British squadron in the Tagus, and on November 29, 1807, accompanied by the royal family and a horde of nobles and functionaries set sail for Brazil under cover of the English fleet.

After a short sojourn at Bahia the Prince Regent arrived safely at Rio de Janeiro on January 21, 1808. The Brazilians welcomed their sovereign with almost frantic rejoicings. It was the first time that a ruler of the Old World had set foot on the soil of the New. Everywhere it was felt that a new era had dawned for Brazil. These high expectations were in a fair measure realized. Partly due to English influence, partly as a result of his own liberal views, the Prince Regent decreed a number of reforms which profoundly altered the status of the colony. The ports of Brazil were thrown open to the commerce of all friendly nations, thus abolishing by a stroke of the pen the commercial monopoly hitherto enjoyed by Por-

tugal. An elaborate administrative machinery was set up; supreme tribunals were established, a national bank, a royal printing press, a royal library, a military academy, and medical and law schools were founded.

Industries, some of which had been forbidden, were established with the aid of foreign capital. Brazil was like a rich storehouse, whose treasures hitherto but dimly suspected, were thrown open to all comers. Scholars, scientists, men of letters requited Dom John's hospitality by carrying on fruitful explorations of the interior of the country, and by writing a number of scientific works and books of travel which introduced Brazil to the world. Immigrants were brought in at government expense, and settled in some of the most productive regions adjacent to the capital.

The new status to which Brazil had attained called for some official recognition. By the decree of January 16, 1815, the Portuguese dominions were designated the "United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algaves." The old colonial government thus ceased to exist even in name. In March, 1816, the insane queen, Dona Maria I, died and the Prince Regent became king under the title of Dom John VI.

The Independence of Brazil. To understand the circumstances under which Brazil achieved her complete independence, it is necessary to recur briefly to developments in Portugal. After the departure of the French, that unhappy country was turned over to the mercy of an arbitrary and tyrannical regency in which British influence predominated. The absence of the court aggravated the economic distress and the refusal of John VI to return to Lisbon aroused intense discontent. In 1820 an insurrectionary movement swept aside the regency and summoned the Cortes, which had not met for over a century, to draw up a constitution, the ultraliberal Spanish Constitution of 1812 being provisionally adopted. Both patriotic and dynastic reasons now counseled the return of the king to Lisbon. On April 22, 1821, he appointed his son Dom Pedro regent and lieutenant in Brazil, and four days later set sail for Lisbon. As the ship weighed

anchor he had a premonition of the momentous changes the next few months would bring forth. Turning to his son he declared: "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal; and if so, place the crown on thine own head, rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer."

Reactionary Policy of the Cortes: Its Effect on Brazil. The departure of King John left the fate of Brazil in the hands of the young regent, Dom Pedro, a dashing, brilliant, but rather erratic young man, who partly from conviction, partly because he could read the signs of the times, had espoused the cause of liberalism. The tasks now confronting him were truly formidable. The antagonism between the Portuguese and Brazilians was daily becoming more bitter; the republican spirit which had flared up in a revolution in Pernambuco in 1817 was by no means extinct. Most serious of all, the prince had to face the responsibilities of a separation of Brazil from Portugal, as a consequence of the shortsighted and impolitic conduct of the constituent Cortes of Lisbon. The majority of this assembly were convinced that the ills which had befallen Portugal were largely due to the residence of the court at Rio, and the opening of the Brazilian ports to the world's commerce. They accordingly determined to reduce Brazil to her former status of colonial dependency. The higher tribunals, the treasury, and various other establishments created in Rio by John VI were suppressed; on the Roman theory of divide and rule, the provincial authorities were encouraged to receive orders direct from Lisbon. Finally, Dom Pedro was ordered to return to Europe and make a tour incognito through England, France, and Spain, "in order to complete his political education."

Dom Pedro Declares for Independence. The "Grito do Ypiranga." These decrees caused anger and alarm in Brazil and aroused a spirit of independence. Brazilians of all shades of political opinion began to turn to Dom Pedro as their defense against the encroachment of the government at Lisbon. The position of the prince was, indeed, a cruel one. If he disobeyed the Cortes and refused to leave, he would be taxed with treason

to Portugal; if he returned to Europe he would be recreant to the trust reposed in him by the Brazilians. Fortunately at this crisis he had as counselor and friend one whose services to his country have won for him the title of the "Patriarch of Independence." José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva was the eldest of three brothers, all men of outstanding ability. He was a native of São Paulo, the province in which the spirit of independence was perhaps most firmly implanted. After gaining a European reputation for his scientific discoveries and serving with distinction in the Peninsular War, he resigned his position as professor at Coimbra and returned to Brazil in 1819. To this liberty-loving Paulista the conduct of the Cortes was intolerable, and by 1821 he had reached the conviction that Brazil should cut loose from the motherland and follow her own destinies.

Events now moved rapidly. On January 9, 1822, Dom Pedro openly defied the Cortes by announcing his decision to remain in Brazil. Later in the month he formed a ministry, in which José Bonifacio and his brother Martim Francisco de Andrada held the principal portfolios. On May 13th he adopted the title of "Perpetual Protector and Defender of Brazil"; by a decree of June 3d, he convoked a legislative and constituent assembly. On September 7, 1822, while on the plain of Ypiranga, in the environs of São Paulo, he was apprised of the latest decrees of the Cortes, notably the one ordering the prosecution of the members of his ministry. Whereupon the prince declared to his escort: "Comrades, the Cortes of Portugal wishes to reduce Brazil to slavery; we must declare forthwith her independence." He ended his fervent appeal by uttering the slogan of "Independence or death." This act, consummating as it did the definite break between mother country and colony, is hailed by the Brazilians as marking the birthday of their independence. On his return to Rio de Janeiro, Dom Pedro was acclaimed on October 12th as constitutional Emperor of Brazil.

The Cortes of Lisbon now reaped the rewards of its own folly. Its belated efforts to check the course of events in Brazil proved futile. The strong Portuguese garrisons stationed at

various points on the littoral, notably at Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco were persuaded or forced to return to Portugal, partly through the exertions of Lord Cochrane who, after leaving the services of Chile, had entered the employ of the Brazilian government and had been placed in command of the imperial fleet. Before the close of 1823 all local resistance to the new *régime* had virtually disappeared. The growing anarchy in Portugal precluded any further attempt to put down the revolution by force.

Problems Confronting Dom Pedro I. The Constituent Assembly of 1823. The departure of the Portuguese garrisons did not end the difficulties of the young emperor. Weighty internal problems were pressing for solution. The nation was without experience in self-government, while the character of Dom Pedro I was an amalgam of conflicting qualities. Although professing a sincere attachment to liberalism, he was at heart arbitrary and dictatorial. With the qualities of high courage and noble conception of public duty were coupled a capriciousness and obstinacy of temper and a growing laxity of morals. Fortunately these shortcomings did not appear at once, and for a time Dom Pedro enjoyed an immense popularity. The Constituent Assembly, on which the nation pinned such high hopes, met amid great rejoicings on May 3, 1823. By virtue of their abilities and prestige, José Bonifacio and his brothers were in a position largely to influence its deliberations. They did not use their power altogether wisely. The Emperor, whom they were too prone to regard as a sovereign of their own creation, chafed at their dictatorial methods. Moreover the draft of the Constitution, for whose preparation they were chiefly responsible, was not entirely to his liking. Apparently weary of dictation, Dom Pedro dismissed his ministry on July 17th, the Andradas going over to the opposition. After struggling with a hostile majority in the Assembly, Dom Pedro finally dissolved that body on November 23d, and banished the Andradas to France.

Promulgation of the Constitution of 1824. The Emperor promptly issued a proclamation in which he defended his action,

and at the same time promised that a constitution would be prepared even more liberal in character than the one drawn up by the Constituent Assembly. This promise Dom Pedro kept. The task was committed to the Council of State of ten members, presided over by Dom Pedro himself. Its labors were completed within less than two months, and on March 24, 1824, the Emperor took the oath to the new Constitution, after it had been submitted to the municipal councils of the various provinces for approval. By this stroke of policy, Dom Pedro saved his dynasty and probably prevented the dissolution of Brazil. A brief discussion of the Constitution of 1824 will be given in connection with the reign of Dom Pedro II.

Recognition of Brazil. The Brazilian Empire was soon to take its place in the comity of nations. The United States extended recognition in 1824; a similar action was taken by England the year following. Thanks to the mediation of Great Britain and especially to the wise counsel of her foreign minister, Canning, Portugal was induced formally to recognize the independence of Brazil in 1825. The Brazilian government accepted responsibility for a portion of the debt which Portugal owed Great Britain, and agreed to reimburse King John for his holdings in Brazil.

Growing Unpopularity of Dom Pedro I; His Abdication in 1831. The reign of the first Emperor of Brazil, begun under such brilliant auspices, ended all but disastrously. The General Assembly or Parliament, created by the Constitution of 1824, met for the first time in 1826, and during practically the entire reign of Dom Pedro I the opposition held a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. With both Parliament and the Emperor extremely jealous of their prerogatives, strained relations were inevitable. Frequently balked by what he regarded as a captious opposition of the Assembly and even of his ministries, Dom Pedro began to seek his counselors among a camarilla or "kitchen cabinet," in which the beautiful Marchioness of Santos played a leading rôle. The discontent thus aroused was heightened by the Emperor's predilection for the Portuguese and his interest in the affairs of his former mother country. Finally, the disastrous

outcome of a war with Buenos Aires, described in the chapter dealing with Argentina, still further lowered the prestige of the Emperor.

As the end of the decade approached, the opposition to the Emperor became more menacing. The dividing up of Brazil into a group of loosely federated states and even the creation of a republic were openly advocated by certain sections of the press. Worn out by attacks from both within and without Parliament, and anxious to proceed to Europe to protect the rights of his daughter against his brother, the usurper Dom Miguel, Dom Pedro formally abdicated on April 7, 1831, in favor of his five-year-old son, later known as Dom Pedro II. One of his last acts was to recall from exile the aged José Bonifacio to act as tutor for the future Emperor.

The Period of the Regency (1831-1840). The decade following the abdication of Dom Pedro I is one of the most confusing and turbulent periods in Brazilian history. The Liberal Monarchists, who governed the greater part of the period, were opposed by the Federalists, most of whom were republicans. From 1831 to 1835 a triple regency made futile efforts to check the disorders in the provinces and curb the lawlessness of the army. In 1834 the Constitution of 1824 was amended by the so-called *Acto Addicional.* This act created provincial assemblies with considerable local powers. It also provided for a sole regent, to be elected for four years. For this office was chosen in 1835 the most energetic and possibly the ablest statesman in Brazil, a priest by the name of Diogo Antonio Feijó. For two years Father Feijó struggled heroically against the forces of disintegration. While meeting with some success in central and northern Brazil, he was unable to put down a rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul. A fraction of the Liberals now united with the former reactionary supporters of Dom Pedro I to form a new Conservative party opposed to Feijó. The Conservatives won in the election of 1837 and Feijó was succeeded by Araujo Lima, later known as the Marquis of Olinda. But the Conservatives showed no greater capacity for government than their predecessors. Early

in 1840 the Liberals launched an agitation for the declaration of majority of the young Dom Pedro. The movement quickly gathered momentum; the nation at large, weary of the vain efforts of the regency to maintain order, hoped to find in the person of the young Emperor a symbol to which all elements of the country might rally. Under such conditions the Liberals had little difficulty in securing the passage by Parliament on July 23, 1840, of a declaration of majority.

It would be a mistake to regard the regency as a fallow period in the evolution of Brazilian nationality. Rather should it be looked upon as a decade of storm and stress, in which the Brazilian people were passing through a painful apprenticeship in self-government. Despite appearances to the contrary, it was an epoch in which the prestige of the empire and of monarchical ideas was re-enforced. Republicanism as represented in the separatist and often anarchical tendencies of the Federalists became discredited. Many of the great statesmen of the empire gained their political education during the regency. The patriotism of this period has something of the Puritan stamp. Only men of real ability, high sense of public duty, and austere morality could have steered the ship of state through such troubled waters. It was with this in mind, that the historian Nabuco declares that in certain respects the period of the regency represented the high-water mark of public life in Brazil.

The Reign of Dom Pedro II. (1840-1889). Character of the Emperor. In many respects the reign of Dom Pedro II, extending over the greater part of the second half of the nineteenth century, constitutes the most interesting and fruitful epoch in the history of the nation. Few monarchs have left a more indelible stamp on the country over which they ruled than Dom Pedro II on Brazil.

Naturally, it was not until some years after his accession that his qualifications as a ruler were fully revealed. But with the turning of the half century the influence of the Emperor in the march of events had become undisputed. His duties and prerogatives as sovereign he took with great seriousness, and in

all matters of first importance he was the final arbiter. Committed from early childhood to the care of conscientious but rather pedantic tutors, entirely removed from the somewhat dissolute court life of his father, it was natural that he should prefer the library to the chase, the laboratory to the parade ground. He was an omnivorous reader, and possessed an insatiable intellectual curiosity. Though not lacking in personal distinction, Dom Pedro was always simple, modest, and democratic. His generosity and magnanimity were proverbial. His domestic life was above reproach. In matters of religion he displayed a broad tolerance and though nominally a Catholic, was in reality a latitudinarian.

The Government of the Brazilian Empire. The empire was governed according to the Constitution of 1824, promulgated, as has already been noted, by Dom Pedro I. Considering the circumstances of its origin, its provisions were thoroughly liberal in character. Freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion, and equality of all citizens before the law were guaranteed. The powers acknowledged by the Constitution—all of which were declared to be delegations of the nation—were four: executive, legislative, judicial, and moderative. The first and last of these were lodged in the Emperor, who was styled "Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil." His person was sacred and inviolable; he was exempt from all responsibility, and enjoyed all the privileges and prerogatives ordinarily associated with constitutional sovereigns. As executive, his powers were exercised through the medium of ministers appointed by him and nominally responsible to him. With the growth of the parliamentary system, however, the ministry became responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, although the Emperor enjoyed the right of dissolution of the Chamber. The Emperor was assisted by a body known as the Council of State, whose members he appointed for life. Their advice was sought, though not necessarily followed, on all matters of importance falling within the province of the executive. The Council of State enjoyed great prestige and the caliber of its members was remarkably high.

The legislative power was vested in the General Assembly or Parliament *(Asamblea Geral)* consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The members of the lower house held office for four years and were chosen by provincial electors, themselves elected by universal suffrage.[1] The number of Senators was fixed at one-half that of the Deputies; they represented the provinces, each being entitled to from two to six according to population. The Senators were nominated by the Emperor, from a triple list submitted to him by the provincial electors, and held office for life. Dom Pedro II exercised his prerogatives with great scrupulousness; in some cases the same names were submitted and rejected six or seven times. Partly on this account the general ability and intelligence of the upper chamber were exceptionally high.

Possibly the most striking feature of the Constitution of 1824 was the so-called moderative power, which was characterized as "the key to the entire political organization." The chief attributes of the moderative power, which was vested exclusively in the hands of the Emperor, were the nomination of Senators, as just described; the convocation of the General Assembly whenever the good of the empire might require it; the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies; the appointment and dismissal of ministers of state, and the granting of amnesties. Critics of the empire would have us believe that Dom Pedro wielded the moderative power not wisely, but too well. Under cover of this authority he was accused of having set up a kind of veiled and irresponsible dictatorship, to which the name of *poder pessoal* (personal power) was loosely applied. While such charges are not entirely groundless, under the social and political conditions prevailing in Brazil Dom Pedro had every justification for using the prerogatives inherent in the moderative power. We now realize that the smooth functioning of the machinery of government, year after year, was largely due to the tireless vigilance of the Emperor. Despotic, Dom Pedro may have been at times, but he always placed the interest of the nation above that of

[1] A law passed in 1881 provided for the direct election of Deputies.

parties, of cabinets, of the dynasty itself. In the phrase of the Brazilian historian, Oliveira Lima, "if there was any despotism, it was the despotism of morality."

Political Parties During the Reign of Dom Pedro II. The wide latitude enjoyed by the Emperor in the exercise of the moderative power did not prevent the development of vigorous and political life, in which the educated classes of the nation took an active interest. During the greater part of the imperial *régime* only two political parties were represented in Parliament —the Liberals and the Conservatives. Brazilian political writers are wont to find a parallel between these two parties and the like-named organizations in England. While it will not do to force the analogy, undoubtedly a certain parallelism did exist, especially if a comparison be made between conditions in Brazil and those in England prior to the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832. The Conservatives styled themselves the representatives of law and order. They were opposed to revolutions based on political motives. They advocated centralization against provincial autonomy, and favored high suffrage qualifications. The Liberals piqued themselves on being exponents of progress, and from time to time launched programs of political and social reforms, chief among which were an extension of the suffrage and increased decentralization. They had to share the odium of responsibility of a number of revolutionary disturbances which occurred between 1840 and 1848. The third political party, the Republicans, did not appear until the later days of the empire and never succeeded in gaining more than a few seats in the lower chamber.

The political life of the empire was, on a whole, pitched on a high plane. Dishonesty among the higher officials was rare; most of them left office poorer than when they entered. While corruption and fraud in elections were seldom entirely absent, the composition of the Chamber of Deputies did reflect the political opinions of the cultivated classes. It is a striking testimony to the tact and ability of the Emperor, as well as to the vitality of Brazilian political life, that the most eminent

men of the country embraced politics as a career. A roster of the members of Dom Pedro's thirty-six cabinets reveals a list of statesmen and administrators of which any nation might be proud.

The International Relations of Brazil Under Dom Pedro II. Bordering on all but one of the South American republics, it could hardly be expected that Brazil should escape all controversies with her frequently turbulent Spanish-American neighbors. On two different occasions the empire was forced to intervene in the affairs of the Platine Republics. Brazil aided in the overthrow of the Argentine dictator Rosas in 1853, and played a rôle of major importance in the Paraguayan War from 1865 to 1870. The ultimate responsibility of this latter struggle, one of the most useless and disastrous of which South America has been the theater, may be laid at the door of the overweening vanity and insane ambition of the Paraguayan dictator, Francisco Solano López. Pretending to see in the Brazilian intervention in the troubled affairs of Uruguay a menace to his own country, López, in a time of piping peace, seized on November 11, 1864, the Brazilian steamer, the *Marquez de Olinda,* on its voyage through Paraguay to the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. A declaration of war by Brazil was followed by an attempt of López to invade the southern provinces of the empire by crossing the Argentine state of Corrientes, despite the refusal of President Mitre. As a consequence, López found himself involved in a war against the Triple Alliance of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Although at the beginning of the war the brunt of the struggle was borne by Argentina, in the latter years almost the entire burden was carried by Brazil. The natural defense of Paraguay and the tenacity and bravery of the Paraguayans made the struggle long and arduous. The destruction of the major portion of López's army and the capture of the Paraguayan capital of Asunción in 1869 were accomplished by the Allied army under the Brazilian commander-in-chief Marshal Caxias; López himself was run to earth and the last resistance crushed by the forces of Comte d'Eu, the son-in-law of Dom Pedro II.

Although the war enriched the military annals of Brazil with a number of heroic chapters, the empire lost heavily both in men and resources. War and disease claimed some fifty thousand lives, while the monetary outlay ran well over a quarter of a billion dollars. The economic progress of the country was impaired by a heritage of deficits, increased taxation, and additional foreign loans.

With occasional lapses[1] the relations between the empire and the remaining American and European powers were exceedingly friendly. This sentiment was considerably strengthened by the visits which Dom Pedro paid to Europe in 1876 and 1888 and to the United States in 1876. Everywhere the Emperor was received with genuine cordiality and sympathy. Victor Hugo, on whom the emperor called personally, styled him the "grandson of Marcus Aurelius"; Pasteur bestowed upon him the title of "Emperor-scientist." Dom Pedro's admiration for the United States was unbounded. After visiting the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia he extended his journey to the Pacific Coast. His time was chiefly occupied in studying the American educational system and in visiting institutions of higher learning.

The Slave Trade and Its Abolition. The most serious social and economic problems with which the empire had to grapple were intimately connected with the institution of slavery. The beginnings of negro slavery go back to the middle of the sixteenth century; at the end of the colonial period the number of negroes in Brazil considerably exceeded the white population. At the same time the slave trade had taken on enormous proportions. For motives chiefly philanthropic, Great Britain began at this period her great crusade against the traffic. By the treaty of 1826 between Brazil and Great Britain the former country agreed

[1] The two most important instances of friction between Brazil and the United States arose over the question of the Amazon and the attitude of Brazil during the Civil War. Certain Brazilian officials extended unwarranted favors to Confederate cruisers; the recognition of the empire of Maximilian in Mexico also aroused resentment. On the subject of the Amazon cf. the article by P. A. Martin, "The Influence of the United States on the opening of the Amazon to the World's Commerce," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, May, 1918.

to the total abolition of the traffic at the end of three years. Though a law to this effect was passed in 1831, it remained largely a dead letter. Finally, in 1845 the British Parliament passed the Aberdeen Bill, which empowered British cruisers in pursuit of slavers to enter Brazilian waters and hale their captives before British tribunals. This act, violating at it did Brazilian sovereignty, aroused intense indignation throughout the empire and for a time relations with Great Britain were strained almost to the breaking point. But a reaction against the whole infamous traffic soon followed. The Emperor felt keenly the stigma which was being cast upon Brazil and declared that he would prefer to lose his crown than to permit the continuance of the slave trade. At length in 1850, the Brazilian Parliament passed a bill which not only provided drastic penalties for those implicated in the traffic but created machinery for their enforcement. As a consequence the slave trade almost immediately ceased and the obnoxious Aberdeen Bill was shortly repealed.

Slavery as an Institution. The second half of the nineteenth century was well under way before there arose agitation against slavery as such. For a long time it occurred to but few Brazilians that the institution was open to attack; it was regarded almost as a part of the order of nature. The state itself bought and sold slaves. The monastic orders held slaves; they were supposed to be the property of St. Benedict or St. Loyola. Orphan asylums at Rio bought negresses as nurses for foundlings. The lot of the slaves themselves was generally a mild one. They enjoyed a relative degree of liberty, especially in the towns. Frequently they were given entire disposition of their time on condition that they turn over to their owner a fixed sum from their earnings. They were frequently permitted to instruct themselves; if a slave had the time and ambition, it was often possible for him to gain the rudiments of an education, which would pave the way for eventual freedom. The most striking feature of the status of the negro in Brazil was the opportunities enjoyed by freedmen or their descendants. If they possessed the requisite ability almost every career was open to them. Sons of

slaves might enter the army or navy, become lawyers, doctors, professors, artists, clergymen. In the later days of the empire, several negroes or mulattoes were elected to the Chamber of Deputies and to the provincial assemblies.

Emancipation Agitation. The Rio Branco Law. It was not until the sixties that the emancipation movement began to make headway. The Emperor, keenly jealous of the good name of Brazil, was opposed to slavery, but he had to contend against the opposition of those members of Parliament who represented the plantation owners. Finally, in 1871, in the face of the most strenuous opposition, a bill for gradual emancipation sponsored by the Viscount of Rio Branco was passed by Parliament. This act, sometimes known as the law of "free birth" *(ventre livre)*, decreed that henceforth all children born of slave mothers should be free. It also facilitated manumission, and provided for the creation of an emancipation fund to be applied annually to a certain number of slaves.

Abolition of Slavery. Rôle of Joaquim Nabuco. Although the Rio Branco law would have in time automatically brought about the extinction of slavery, it did not silence the opponents of the system. With the foundation in 1880 of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society was launched a propaganda in favor of immediate and complete abolition. The guiding spirit of the movement was a brilliant young lawyer from Pernambuco named Joaquim Nabuco, who many years later was appointed the first Brazilian ambassador to the United States. In 1883 Nabuco wrote a remarkable book on abolition *(O Abolicionismo)*, in which he urged that the Brazil of the next two generations should not be sacrificed to the interests of the slavery party. He drew a gloomy but striking picture of the social, economic, and political effects of slave labor and, with a wealth of illustrations, well buttressed with facts, endeavored to prove that slavery was poisoning the life of the nation.

The propaganda in favor of complete abolition began to bear fruit. In 1884 the provinces of Ceará and Amazonas freed all their slaves; in 1885 a bill passed Parliament providing for the

liberation of all slaves over sixty years of age. But the agitation instead of decreasing took on greater proportions. In 1887 Dom Pedro, failing in health, set sail for Europe, leaving Princess Isabella to act as regent. Isabella was in favor of complete and immediate emancipation, though intimations were not lacking that such a course might jeopardize the safety of the dynasty. On May 13, 1888, amid indescribable enthusiasm Parliament passed the bill immediately and forever abolishing slavery in Brazil,[1] Nabuco declared on this occasion: "The present generation has never known such profound emotion. To seek a parallel one must go back to the proclamation of independence. For us Brazilians 1888 will be a more momentous date than was 1789 for France. For us it is literally the dawn of a new era."

Summary of the Reign of Dom Pedro II. The reign of the last Brazilian emperor was a period of steady development and national progress. As early as 1850 steamship communication was established between Brazil and Europe, and three years later a beginning was made on a system of railways which in 1889 reached a total of over 5000 miles. Immigration was the object of official encouragement; in the year 1888 more than 130,000 foreigners landed on Brazilian soil. From 1831 to 1889 the national income rose from five and a half to over seventy-five million dollars, while the value of the products of the country advanced from twenty million to a quarter of a billion dollars. From 1831 to 1889 the total population of Brazil increased from four to fourteen million. But the achievements of the empire should not be judged solely on a statistical basis. The empire supplied the cohesive force which prevented Brazil from falling a prey to anarchy and possible dismemberment. Under its ægis Brazil took her place among the most liberal and enlightened countries in Latin America. A half century of almost unbroken internal peace made possible a material prosperity which until the spectacular rise of Argentina was unique in

[1] The act of May 13th liberated 720,000 slaves (census of 1887), whose value was estimated at something over $200,000,000. In 1870 the number of slaves was 1,800,000.

South America. Yet perhaps after all the greatest service rendered by the empire was to afford the Brazilian people, decade after decade, an apprenticeship in the practice of self-government within the spacious confines of a liberal constitutional monarchy. Thus were laid, solid and enduring, the foundations on which the success and prosperity of the republic had ultimately to depend.

The Fall of the Empire and the Establishment of the Republic. The collapse of the empire, though at first sight inexplicable, came as no surprise to those familiar with the deeper currents of Brazilian political life. In the later years of the reign of Dom Pedro II, the basis on which the monarchy rested had begun to crumble. By the abolition of slavery without compensation, the monarchy lost the support of the rich and influential slaveholding classes. The clergy, which might have been another pillar to the throne, had been antagonized by the imprisonment in 1874 of the Bishops of Olinda and Pará for their attempts to expel the Free Masons from a kind of benevolent institution known as brotherhoods *(irmandades)*. The Republican party, launched in 1871, kept up an intermittent agitation and gained many recruits among the professional classes. Finally, the heiress to the throne, Princess Isabella, and the Prince Consort, the Comte d'Eu, were both unpopular. The former was charged with being a tool of the clergy; against the latter nothing could be alleged save his reserved, somewhat formal bearing and the fact that he was a foreigner.

Despite these causes of discontent, the empire might have lasted many years longer had it been able to count on the support of the army. Unfortunately, certain military officers had come to regard themselves as the victims of injustice on the part of the imperial government. Their specific grievances when analyzed shrink to pitiable dimensions; they protested violently, for example, at the censuring of two officers by the minister of war for ventilating their complaints in the press. Their real grievances were the pacificist leanings of the Emperor and the refusal of the government to accord the army a privileged

position in the state. Had the army been content to eschew politics, it is improbable that any serious issue would have arisen.

It was not until the autumn of 1889 that the disaffected military elements made common cause with the republicans. This working alliance was largely brought about through the efforts of Colonel Benjamin Constant, professor of mathematics in the military school of Rio. A fanatical republican, held in check by no dynastic scruples or loyalty to Dom Pedro, he made it his task to forge the accumulated grievances against the government into a weapon capable of demolishing the monarchy. Early in November, he won over the leader of the aggrieved faction in the army, General Deodoro da Fonseca. From now on, the conspirators had things practically their own way. Almost until the day of the revolt, Ouro Preto, the prime minister, failed to realize the gravity of the situation. When on the early morning of November 15, 1889, the Second Brigade revolted in Rio de Janeiro, it was quickly joined by the remainder of the army. Further resistance being useless, the ministry tendered its resignation to the Emperor. While Dom Pedro was making desperate efforts to form a new cabinet, the republic was proclaimed, and a provisional government was organized, with Deodoro as its chief, and Benjamin Constant as minister of war. On the 16th Dom Pedro was formally deposed and together with the members of his family banished from the country. The aged Emperor, already in failing health, died two years later in Paris.

The Provisional Government and the Constitution of 1891. The new government entered upon its duties under favorable auspices. The partisans of the empire dropped out of sight, and throughout Brazil the change of *régime* was accepted without opposition. But in spite of the presence of a majority of civilians on Deodoro's cabinet, it soon became clear that Brazil was under the control of a military autocracy. In all serious conflicts of authority, civilians were at the mercy of the army. Prætorian methods of government became general. The higher

officers found it profitable to enter politics; for a time ten out of the twenty Brazilian states had military governors. The freedom of the press all but disappeared.

Yet during the fourteen months in which the provisional government was in power, decrees of great variety and immense importance were issued. Its activities were first directed to a reorganization of the state along republican lines. As early as November 15, 1889, it was announced that the future government would be a federal republic under the title of the United States of Brazil. The Senate of life members and the Council of State were forthwith abolished; the provinces were converted into states enjoying wide autonomy; a decree was issued convoking a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. Other acts provided for the separation of church and state, the introduction of civil marriage, and the reorganization of the judicial system on the model of the United States.

The Constituent Assembly met on November 15, 1890. The powers of this body had several important limitations. The principles of federalism and the form of the legislative branch of the future government were placed outside the realm of discussion. As for the Constitution itself, the Assembly did little more than make minor revisions of a draft drawn up largely by an eminent lawyer and publicist, Ruy Barbosa. An analysis of this document will be given later in the chapter.

Deodoro da Fonseca President. The last act of the Constituent Assembly was the election of the President and Vice-President for the ensuing four years. The election, which took place on February 25, 1891, resulted in the choice of Deodoro for President and Floriano Peixoto—one of the high officials of the navy involved in the revolt of 1889—for Vice-President. The passing of the interregnum and the return of a responsible and regular form of government were hailed with satisfaction by the Brazilians. It soon appeared, however, that President Deodoro had profited little from his experiences as head of the provisional *régime.* He insisted on retaining in power a most unpopular ministry, and soon found himself at loggerheads with

Congress. On November 3, 1891, he forcibly dissolved Congress and assumed dictatorial powers. He justified his conduct on the grounds of a factious opposition in Congress and the existence of widespread monarchical plots. In his recourse to violence and illegality, he failed to carry the country with him. His reference to monarchical plots deceived no one. Opposition raised its head throughout the republic, particularly in São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul. A portion of the army and all of the navy fell away from the government. When on November 23d, the warships stationed in the harbor of Rio trained their guns on the city, the President abandoned the struggle. The same day he resigned in favor of the Vice-President, General Floriano Peixoto, and retired to private life.

Floriano Peixoto in Power. The political horizon, apparently so serene, soon became obscured. It developed that Floriano's methods of government differed little in practice from those of his predecessor. Of the meaning of constitutionalism, in the strict sense of the term, he had no conception. The governors of the states who had supported Deodoro in his *coup d'etat* of November 3d were ousted from power, frequently to the accompaniment of violence. A revolt of the garrison of one of the fortresses at the entrance of the Rio harbor furnished a pretext for even more dictatorial and prætorian methods. Revolutionary outbreaks were threatened in various of the states, and in June, 1892, there flared up once more the almost chronic civil war in Rio Grande do Sul, the movement being headed by a famous gaucho chieftain named Gumercindo Saraïva. Resentment against the administration of Floriano was especially strong in the navy, which had regarded with a jealous eye the privileged position which the army had usurped since the overthrow of the empire.

The Naval Revolt of 1893. Finally on September 6, 1893, Admiral de Mello raised the standard of revolt on board the armored cruiser *Aquidaban* in the harbor of Rio. He justified his action by a manifesto, in which he declared that Floriano had mutilated and violated the Constitution, had fomented the civil

war, and, by opening the public exchequer to bribery and corruption, had brought the nation to the verge of bankruptcy. The action of Mello was greeted with approval by practically the entire navy and by a number of prominent civilians, chiefly members of Congress, who promptly joined him on his flagship. It was generally expected that the revolt would be short; that Floriano would tender his resignation; and that a new election would be held. Those who argued thus failed in their appraisal of the character of the President. Whatever faults Floriano may have possessed, indecision and cowardice were not among them. Supported by a majority of Congress and most of the army, he determined on the most energetic resistance. The capital was put in a state of defense and members of the national guard were called out; orders were placed abroad for the purchase of ships with which to attack the insurgents.

At the beginning of the revolt the prospects of the revolutionist seemed not unfavorable. De Mello was in control of the entire harbor; by threatening to bombard the capital he could render the position of Floriano, if not untenable at least highly precarious. Unfortunately for the insurgents, they soon lost control of their potentially most effective weapon. The commanders of the naval forces of the United States, France, Italy, and Portugal anchored in the harbor informed de Mello on October 1st "that they would oppose by force, if necessary, every enterprise against Rio de Janeiro." At the same time they secured from the government of Floriano the categorical assurance that the cannon would be removed from the batteries which had been hastily erected in various parts of the city. This agreement was kept by the insurgents, but was later violated by the government. The failure to obtain recognition of belligerent rights prevented the insurgents from establishing a regular blockade, but the setting-up of even a partial embargo on foreign commerce with their enemies was prevented by Vice-Admiral Benham of the United States, who threatened to open fire on the insurgent ships when they tried to prevent American barks from discharging their cargo. This intervention of the foreign com-

manders played directly into the hands of the government and vastly lowered the prestige of the insurgents.

One chance of success yet remained. Should de Mello succeed in joining hands with the Rio Grande revolution under Gumercindo Saraïva and attack the forces of Floriano in the rear, all might be saved. On December 1st de Mello with his flagship ran the gauntlet of the fortresses at the entrance of the harbor and sailed for the south. The command of the fleet was assumed by Admiral Luis Felippe da Gama, a distinguished naval officer of monarchist leanings. Admiral de Mello reached Santa Catharina, where he established a revolutionary government. But the great raid which Saraïva had planned northward through Paraná and São Paulo ended in failure, and the naval forces under da Gama, cooped up in the harbor of Rio, were reduced to a pitiable plight by the continual pounding from the land batteries. The arrival early in March of the nondescript fleet, purchased by the government abroad at enormous cost, precluded all hope of escape. Aware that he could expect no mercy from Floriano, on March 13, 1894, da Gama sought asylum for himself and his men on board the two Portuguese cruisers stationed in the harbor. The grant of asylum aroused the fury of Floriano and when Captain Castilhos, the Portuguese commander, refused to surrender his involuntary guests to the Brazilian government, the President severed diplomatic relations with Portugal. The savage reprisals visited by the government upon the insurgents who fell into its hands fully vindicated the course pursued by both da Gama and Castilhos.

The complete collapse of the rebellion soon followed. Saraïva was killed while attempting to retreat southward with the remnants of his forces; Admiral de Mello succeeded in reaching Buenos Aires and surrendered the vessels still under his command to the President of Argentina. The revolutionists in Rio Grande kept up a partisan warfare for some months longer, but by 1895 they were definitely crushed.

The legal term of office of Floriano Peixoto terminated on November 15, 1894, and, despite the freely made predictions that

supported by the military he would refuse to surrender his office, he quietly turned over his powers to his successor. The character and administration of Floriano still call forth the most divergent opinions among Brazilian writers. Yet it can be hardly disputed that he rendered the young republic very real service. With the instinct of a soldier he stuck to his post to the very end, and then retired quietly to private life. Whatever sympathy one may feel for the leaders of the naval revolt, it seems reasonably clear that Floriano's overthrow would have meant disintegration and anarchy, and would have launched Brazil on a fatal cycle of governments by pronunciamentos and administrations set up and overthrown by military force.

The Advent of the Civilian Presidents. President Moraes Barros (1894-1898). The successor of General Floriano Peixoto was Dr. Prudente de Moraes Barros, a distinguished lawyer, a republican of long standing, and a son of São Paulo. He was opposed to the prætorian methods of his predecessor, and is sometimes spoken of as Brazil's first civilian President. Aside from the menace of the disgruntled military elements, the chief problems which the Executive had to face were the deplorable state of the national finances and the corruption which had invaded all branches of the government since the overthrow of the empire. All hope that the President might successfully cope with these problems was shattered by the outbreak of a rebellion in the hinterland or *sertão* of Bahia by a religious prophet and fanatic named Antonio Maciel, but known to his followers as "Conselheiro" or the Counselor. Only after the dispatch to Bahia of an army of fifteen thousand men was this revolt finally quelled.

President Campos Salles (1898-1902) and the Funding Loan. President Moraes was followed by Dr. Manoel de Campos Salles, a former governor of the State of São Paulo. The full effects of the orgy of extravagance, inflated currency, graft, and corruption which had followed the establishment of the republic were now apparent. Exchange, which at par was twenty-seven

pence, had fallen to less than six pence. Funds were lacking for the payment of the next interest installment on Brazil's foreign obligations. While President-elect, Campos Salles visited Europe, with the hope of preventing the calamity of repudiation through some kind of adjustment with Brazil's creditors. Through the agency of the Rothschilds, he contracted a funding loan of ten million pounds, on the understanding that for three years no new loan would be floated, and that paper money equivalent to the amount of the loan would be retired. The arrangement was approved by the Brazilian Congress and loyally carried out by the Brazilian government. Thanks to the skill and tact of Campos Salles, and to the marvelous recuperative power of the country, the crisis was safely passed.

The Presidency of Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906). Transformation of Rio de Janeiro. Campos Salles was succeeded by Dr. Rodrigues Alves, likewise a Paulista, and in some respects the most notable of the civilian presidents. The republican government had now definitely found itself; finances were approaching a flourishing condition, and the Executive had both the means and ability to carry out a whole series of notable improvements in the capital. The opening of the twentieth century still found Rio de Janeiro in many respects a colonial city. Streets were narrow, public buildings antiquated, health conditions deplorable. In his program for public improvement the President had two remarkable collaborators. The prefect of the city, Pereira Passos, was immediately responsible for the building of a great quay with warehouses and the construction of a magnificent series of avenues and boulevards, of which the most famous, the Avenida Central, cut through the heart of the city. A distinguished physician and scientist, Dr. Oswaldo Cruz, successfully carried through a remarkable campaign for the eradication of yellow fever, which for over half a century had periodically scourged the capital. Rio de Janeiro soon became one of the most healthy cities in the tropics.

Settlement of Boundary Controversies. Achievements of Rio Branco. The presidency of Rodrigues Alves also witnessed the

settlement of the last of the numerous important boundary controversies which had long been pending between Brazil and her neighbors. Brazil's extraordinary success in the adjustment of these disputes was due in large part to the diplomatic skill of Baron Rio Branco, son of the Viscount of Rio Branco, and minister of foreign affairs from 1902 to 1912. A controversy of long standing with Argentina over the region known as the Missiones was submitted to the arbitration of President Grover Cleveland, the Brazilian brief being drawn up by Rio Branco. The award, made in 1895, was almost wholly favorable to Brazil. An equally striking success attended the settlement in 1900 of the dispute over the boundary between Brazil and French Guiana, which was submitted to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland, Brazil's claims being presented by Rio Branco. Four years later the boundary controversy between Brazil and British Guiana was satisfactorily adjusted through the arbitration of the King of Italy. Brazil's case was brilliantly handled by Joaquim Nabuco, the distinguished publicist and former champion of abolition.

The most thorny of these boundary complications was with the Republic of Bolivia over the region known as the Acre. This district, in the very heart of South America, suddenly sprang into prominence when Brazilian rubber gatherers in 1902 came into violent conflict with the Bolivian officials. For a time war between Brazil and Bolivia seemed imminent. Largely through the efforts of Rio Branco the dispute was settled by the Treaty of Petropolis, signed in 1903. Bolivia relinquished to Brazil all her rights over the Acre territory. Brazil in turn agreed to pay Bolivia two million pounds sterling and to construct a railway about the cataracts on the Madeira River, thus opening up the whole Bolivian hinterland to the commerce of the world through the Amazon valley.

Recent Political History. The internal political history of Brazil since 1906 calls for only brief comment. The most important achievement of President Affonso Penna, who succeeded Rodrigues Alves, was the creation of the so-called *Caixa de Con-*

versão, a government bank whose chief function should be the redemption of inconvertible paper notes and the issue of convertible notes against deposits of gold. By this means it was hoped not only to stabilize the exchange, but gradually to put Brazilian finances on a gold basis. Had it not been for the outbreak of the World War, the plan would doubtless have been successful. President Penna died in 1909 and was succeeded by Vice-President Nilo Peçanha. The campaign of 1910 was one of the most bitterly fought in the history of the republic. The party in power, the so-called Conservative Republican party, put up as its candidate Marshal Hermes de Fonseca, nephew of General Deodoro da Fonseca. Opposed to him was Dr. Ruy Barbosa, a distinguished lawyer and publicist and the most eloquent public speaker in Brazil. Ruy Barbosa conducted his own campaign, traveling extensively throughout Minas Geraes and São Paulo. His platform was a plea for a more strict adherence to the Constitution and for the elimination of the influence of the military in civil affairs. But the existing party machinery, controlled by a remarkable and astute politician named Pinheiro Machado, easily secured the election of Hermes da Fonseca. The administration of the new President marked a distinct retrogression in Brazilian politics. The high level set by the first three civilian presidents was no longer maintained. Fortunately, this relapse into the militarism and corruption so characteristic of the first years of the republic was stayed through the election in 1914 of Dr. Wenceslau Braz, former governor of Minas Geraes. The energies of the administration were soon directed to the adjustment of the financial and economic problems caused by the outbreak of the Great War and later to the participation of Brazil in the contest. As will be pointed out in the concluding chapter, President Braz guided Brazil with a conspicuous success through this trying period. In 1918 Rodrigues Alves was again elected President. He was too ill, however, to take office and in a special election held the following year Dr. Epitacio Pessôa, who had served as head of the Brazilian delegation at the Peace Conference, was chosen President. In internal policies President

Pessôa has endeavored to carry on the best traditions of his civilian predecessors. In his conduct of foreign affairs he has demonstrated his belief in the principles of Pan-American solidarity, at the same time maintaining the most cordial relations with Europe.

General Features of Brazil

Area and Topography. The Republic of Brazil covers an area of approximately 3,276,358 square miles.[1] This area is nearly three times as great as that of Argentina, the next largest Latin-American state, and is 250,000 square miles greater than that of continental United States. More than three-fifths of the total area of the South-American continent is included within the boundaries of Brazil. This enormous expanse stretches south from 4° 22′ north of the equator to 33° 45′ south, a distance of over 2500 miles, and from longitude 34° 40′ to 73° 15′ west longitude, a slightly greater distance.[2] Brazil borders upon every one of the other nine Latin-American republics of South America with the exception of Chile. At the extreme north it is bounded by the three Guianas, while on the northeast and east it presents a coast line on the Atlantic Ocean of more than 4000 miles.

The topography of the country presents such varied features that it is difficult to summarize them briefly. Among the more striking features may be mentioned the river basins, the great central plateau, and the mountain ranges. In the northwest is the vast basin of the Amazon, stretching from the Andes to the Atlantic Ocean, while in the south a large part of Brazil drains into la Plata river system through the Paraguay, Paraná, and Uruguay Rivers. Practically no rivers of any importance empty into the Atlantic Ocean south of the São Francisco. The great

[1] Statistics are conflicting as to the exact area of the country, due to the fact that considerable portions of the boundaries are not yet precisely determined, and large areas have not even been explored. The figure here given is that accepted by the Pan-American Union and published in its *General Descriptive Data on Brazil,* 1920.

[2] The easternmost point of Brazil is almost due south of the Azores Islands, while the western extremity is almost due south of New York City.

central plateau is easily one of the outstanding physical features of the country, as it covers about one-half of the total territory, extending south from Cape São Roque to Uruguay, and reaching in places practically to the sea. This vast undulating plain has a mean elevation of some three thousand feet, broken by various mountain ranges, called *serras,* of low elevation, sometimes scarcely distinguishable from the plateau itself. The most important of these ranges is the Serra do Mar, extending in broken sections and under different names south from northern Bahia to northern Rio Grande do Sul. This series of ranges follows in general the coast line, rising sometimes almost directly from the ocean, at other times retreating as much as sixty miles from the sea. In the latter case there is presented another important, though relatively restricted, physical feature of the country, namely the coastal plain, on which are situated all of the more important cities.

Under such varying conditions of latitude and elevation, there are naturally presented the most diverse climatic conditions, accentuated still further by striking variations in rainfall. The basin of the Amazon, lying just below the equator, presents typical tropical conditions of steady heat and excessive rainfall.[1] The central plateau, on the other hand, due to its elevation, presents climatic conditions quite favorable to European settlement, as is also the case with the narrow coastal plain mentioned above, where there is virtually no alteration of seasons, either as to temperature or rainfall. In the extreme south of Brazil, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, lying at about the 30th degree of south latitude, frosts occur from June to September, the winter season of the southern hemisphere. The least promising region of the country is found in the northeastern states, particularly in the state of Ceará, where periodical droughts leave considerable portions of the country almost a barren desert.

Population. The population of Brazil, according to the census

[1] The rainfall in the Amazon basin amounts to more than 40 inches in the six months from November to May, and to 10 to 30 inches from May to November.

estimates of 1920, was 30,635,605, or more than half of the total population of South America. This represents an increase in twenty years of some 13,000,000 inhabitants, or of more than seventy-five per cent. Of the total population all but about one million are concentrated in the eastern tier of states, comprising those bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, and the state of Minas Geraes, shut off therefrom only by the width of the narrow state of Rio de Janeiro. The three states of Bahia, Minas Geraes, and São Paulo, lying in the center of the eastern range of states, contain almost half of the total population. The density of population for the country as a whole is approximately eight per square mile, or about one-fourth of that of continental United States. In the two geographically largest states, of Amazonas and Matto Grosso, however, the density is only .5 per square mile.

The population of Brazil is chiefly of Portuguese descent and the language of the country is Portuguese. According to the last census about twelve per cent of the population consisted of negroes most of which were concentrated in the northeastern states. But there is a large portion of the population with a varying extent of admixture of negro blood[1] which is classed as white, and intermarriage between the white and negro races is not opposed by any such race antagonism as exists in the United States. The number of aboriginal Indians, living chiefly in the Amazonian forests and in southern Matto Grosso and western São Paulo is not known, but is estimated at not more than five or six hundred thousand. The descendants of mixed white and Indian parentage are relatively few also and are found largely in the northern agricultural population. In the south this mixed race has been absorbed into the rest of the population.[2] Immigration is largely from Europe, mostly Italy, Portugal and Spain, and up to the time of the World War from Germany as

[1] It is impossible to give any exact figures as to the proportion of the population of Brazil which is partly of negro extraction. Viscount Bryce in his *South America* quotes opinions holding that the number of such persons is about equal to the number of pure whites.

[2] Bryce, James, *South America* (New York, 1920), pages 407, 408.

well.[1] The Portuguese tend to congregate in the cities, the Italians furnish the peripatetic labor on the plantations in the central states, and the Germans have formed permanent and closely knit colonies further south.[2] A large immigration has been the most pressing need for the development of Brazil and has been consistently encouraged by the governments, both state and federal.

Constitution and Government

Brazil is governed under the Constitution adopted on February 24, 1891, with its subsequent modifications. In the preamble the document is designated as the Constitution for the Republic of the United States of Brazil, and throughout the instrument the influence of the Constitution of the United States is obvious, not only in its general features but even in its exact wording. Nevertheless, there are some important differences which will be noted hereafter.

The form of government adopted under this constitution is called a federal, republican, representative form, and consists in the perpetual and indissoluble union of the former provinces of Brazil as states in the new republic. Of these states there are twenty in all. In addition there is the federal district in which the capital of the country, Rio de Janeiro, is located. This district is to become a state when the capital is moved to a site in the interior of the republic as provided in the Constitution.[3] Finally, there is the Acre Territory, comprising 58,672 square miles in the rubber forests of the upper Amazon basin, which was ceded to the federal government by Bolivia in 1902, and which has petitioned for admission to the Union as a state.

Federal Features of the Government. The Constitution of

[1] The number of immigrants into Brazil from 1887 to 1917 was 2,892,804, of which 1,224,280 were Italians; 752,105 Portuguese; 472,210 Spaniards; 95,001 Russians (mostly Poles); 53,369 Syrian; 64,446 Austro-Hungarians; 60,169 Germans; 11,391 French. In 1918 there were 20,501 immigrants. *Statesman's Year Book,* 1920.

[2] Denis, Pierre, *Brazil* (London, 1911). Translated by Bernard Miall, pages 22, 23.

[3] The site has been selected in the State of Goyaz and comprises 14,400 square kilometers.

Brazil describes the national government, as has been noted, as a federal form of government, and follows, in general, the distribution of powers between state and nation exemplified in the United States of America. But it is to be remarked at the outset that, as regards the source of the powers of the national government, a test that is commonly applied to determine whether a government is federal or unitary, there is a marked difference between the two cases. The federal state of North America was formed by the union of independent, sovereign states, surrendering certain of their rights to the new national government. The Republic of Brazil, on the other hand, was the successor of the unitary empire, and the former provinces were elevated by the Constitution itself to the position of states.

While the source of the powers enjoyed by the national and the state governments respectively in the two countries is, therefore, different, the extent of the powers enjoyed by each is very similar. The American doctrine of reserved rights in the states is adopted in the provision which gives them the right "to use in general any power or right, not denied to them by a provision, expressed or implied, of the Constitution."[1] Express limitations on the federal government in its relation to the states are found in various provisions of the Brazilian Constitution, notably in the provision which forbids interference by the federal government in matters pertaining peculiarly to the states, except (1) To repel foreign invasion or the invasion of one state by another; (2) To maintain the federal republican form of government; (3) To re-establish order and tranquillity in the states at the request of their respective governments; and (4) To secure the execution of federal laws and judgments.[2] This power of intervention by the federal government in the affairs of the states,

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title II, Art. 65, Sec. 2. This provision accomplished in effect what was intended by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, though the latter was regarded merely as confirming a recognized doctrine of the original Constitution. In Brazil, it is noted, however, that implied limitations on the powers of the states are expressly admitted, and *per contra,* implied powers of the federal government also, a constitutional principle which occasioned much controversy in our own federal systems.

[2] *Ibid.* Title I, Art. 6.

although vouched in negative terms, has proved to be of much greater actual significance than have the positive provisions of our own Constitution from which it was copied.[1] For it has been used in Brazil on frequent occasions and its use or abuse constitutes one of the most delicate of the problems of the relation between the states and the Union.

Among the powers expressly conferred upon the federal government is the exclusive power to impose duties on imports from foreign countries, duties of entry, departure, and stay of vessels, stamp duties, and federal postal and telegraph taxes, as also the power to establish banks of issue.[2] As in the United States, the bulk of the powers of the federal government are contained in the sections dealing with the powers of the national Congress.[3] This enumeration contains most of the important matters intrusted by our Constitution to the federal Congress, such as the national finances; international and interstate commerce; the control of navigable rivers; coinage; weights and measures; postal and telegraph services; the armed forces of the nation, including the mobilization of the national guard; naturalization; control of the federal district and other federal territories; and the general power to pass laws necessary for the exercise of the powers belonging to the Union as well as the organic laws requisite for the execution in full of the Constitution. But in addition to these powers a number of others are conferred upon the Brazilian National Congress which are not included in the powers of the American Congress. Among these may be mentioned the power to grant subsidies to needy states;[4] the power

[1] Constitution of the United States, Art. I, Sec. 2.

[2] But taxes levied by the Union must be uniform for all the states, the federal government is forbidden to make distinctions and preferences in favor of the ports of some of the states against those of others, and the coasting trade for national articles is declared free of duties. Furthermore, the federal government may not levy taxes on state property or revenues, nor on services in charge of the states, nor impose duties on the products of state or of a foreign country when in transit through the territory of a state or going from one state to another.

[3] Constitution of Brazil, Art. 34.

[4] A function which has been performed repeatedly, and which while usually welcomed if not demanded by some of the states, has furnished the occasion

to ratify or reject treaties and conventions with foreign nations; the power to declare a state of siege in case of emergency, involving the suspension of the constitutional guarantees; the power to determine the conditions and methods of elections for federal offices throughout the country; and the power to enact civil, commercial, and criminal codes of law, and the code of federal procedure, the regulation of the procedure before the state courts being left to the individual states.[1] As all these powers are designated as exclusive powers of the federal Congress, it is seen that the federal jurisdiction in Brazil is in a number of important respects more extensive than is the case under our own Constitution.

In addition to these exclusive powers of the national government there are other express powers, which though concurrent with those of the states have in practice tended to gravitate more and more into the domain of federal control. Among these may be mentioned particularly the encouragement of letters, arts, and sciences; the development of immigration, agriculture, industries, and commerce, and the creation of high schools and institutions of higher education in the states.[2]

The states, on the other hand, are given express power to adopt their own constitutions and laws, provided the constitutional principles of the Union are respected, and provided the states assure the autonomy of the municipal districts in respect to all that relates to their particular interests.[3] They have the exclusive power to impose export taxes,[4] real property taxes, and

for a more detailed interference with state affairs than seems to have been contemplated by the Constitution.

[1] This power of federal legislation, not possessed by the national government in this country, is of the utmost importance, and was intrusted to the federal government in Germany both under the Empire and now under the Republic. A comprehensive code enacted by the federal government went into effect in Brazil on January 1, 1917.

[2] Constitution of Brazil, Art. 35.

[3] *Ibid.*, Arts. 63 and 68.

[4] This power to tax exports, which as is well known, is forbidden to both state and federal governments by our Constitution is an extremely important and extensively used power of the Brazilian states. A number of them, indeed, derive the bulk of their governmental revenue from this one source.

business and professional taxes, as well as stamp taxes on transactions within the states. Any other methods of taxation not expressly prohibited by the Constitution or intrusted to the federal government are also open to the states. Some other minor powers are expressly intrusted to the states,[1] and by express provision the federal government may intrust to the states with their consent, the execution of the federal laws.[2]

The Constitution imposes some express limitations on the states as such,[3] besides the withdrawal from their jurisdiction of all matters intrusted exclusively to the federal government, while other limitations apply to state and federal governments alike, such as the observance of personal rights and guarantees set forth in the bill of rights.

Another important limitation of the power of the states exists in the jurisdiction conferred upon the federal judiciary,[4] modeled closely upon the provisions of the United States Constitution in this regard, and conferring there as here the final power of passing on the relative spheres of the two governments on the national courts.

Not only does the Constitution of Brazil, as appears from the foregoing, concentrate greater power in the federal government than is the case in the United States, but also there has been there as here a distinct tendency toward continually expanding those powers at the expense of the states. Says Viscount Bryce:[5] "At first the states were allowed the full exercise of the large functions which the Constitution allotted to them. . . . Presently attempts were made to draw the reins tighter, and these attempts

[1] Such as the power to enter into nonpolitical agreements with each other with the approval of the President, and to alter their boundaries by annexation, cessions, or combinations with other states subject to approval by the Congress.

[2] But federal judicial jurisdiction may not be conferred upon the states in whole or in part.

[3] Notably a prohibition on denying full faith and credit to the official acts of the Union or of other states, on denying the character of legal tender to the national currency, on the declaration of war or the exercise of reprisals against each other, and on the refusal to extradite criminals in accordance with the federal law.

[4] Constitution of Brazil, Art. 60, Par. 1.

[5] *South America,* page 411.

have continued until now. The national government has at its disposal the important field of financial and tariff legislation, the control of the army and navy, and the opportunities of helping needy or slothful states by grants of money or by the execution of public works. Through the use of these powers it has latterly endeavored to exert over the states a greater control than some of them seem willing to accept."[1] Other observers as well[2] comment on this steady increase of the relative importance of the federal government, which may, indeed, be regarded as an inevitable development in the life history of federations.[3]

Citizenship, the Franchise, and Individual Rights. Brazilian citizenship is of two kinds, citizenship by birth and by naturalization. Citizenship by birth is based on both the *jus sanguinis* and the *jus loci.* All persons born in Brazil of whatever parentage are citizens, except the children of foreigners residing temporarily

[1] The more powerful states of São Paulo and Minas Geraes, particularly, are very jealous of anything approaching federal encroachment, while the weaker states such as Pará and Ceará willingly acknowledge dependence on the federal government for financial aid, accompanied though it be with more or less federal direction.

[2] *E.g.* Pierre Denis in his *Brazil* (pages 120-124) cites as both causes and examples of the increasing importance of the federal government the acquisition of the territory of Acre with its immense potential wealth, the steady increase in the military and naval strength of the Union, the successful rectification of the boundaries with Argentina and Peru, the federal laws relating to public education and colonization, making both of these matters federal rather than as before state concerns, and the increasing importance of the rôle played by the national state in South American and world politics. Recent instances of the last-named factor are the formation of the so-called A B C alliance and the representation of Brazil as the sole nation of the western hemisphere on the Council of the League of Nations.

[3] It is important also to note that the individual states in Brazil do not, as such, necessarily participate in the process of amending the federal Constitution, as they do in the United States. The Brazilian states may, it is true, propose amendments by vote of two-thirds of the states, but the national Congress itself may amend the constitution by a two-thirds vote of both houses in two successive years, and such amendments are not submitted to the states for ratification. Two matters are declared to be incapable of amendment, the federal republican form of government and the equal representation of the states in the Senate, but otherwise Congress may of its sole action alter the fundamental instrument. (Art. 90.) The fact that formal amendments have not been adopted since the framing of the Constitution of 1891 seems to show that the powers of the federal government are capable of sufficient expansion under the instrument as it stands.

in Brazil in the service of their own country. Children of Brazilian fathers (and illegitimate children of Brazilian mothers) though born abroad are nevertheless Brazilian citizens upon taking up their residence in the republic. Citizenship by naturalization is acquired by marriage with a Brazilian woman or having children born in Brazil, if the foreigners own real estate in the country and reside there, unless they have declared their intention of not changing their nationality, or by the process of naturalization determined by federal laws.

The franchise is conferred upon male citizens twenty-one years of age who have been inscribed on the register. But beggars, illiterates, soldiers on pay, and members of monastic orders or religious organizations who are subject to vows of obedience or to rules implying the surrender of individual liberties, may not be registered as electors in either federal or state elections. The same disqualifications apply to office holding. The Constitution also prescribes the sole ways in which the rights of citizenship may be lost or suspended.[1]

The Brazilian Constitution, like the revolutionary constitutions of France, and like most of our American state constitutions, contains a special section devoted to a declaration of individual rights.[2] This enumeration contains most of those guarantees of individual liberty and property which are familiar features of our state constitutions and of the first amendments to our federal Constitution. Of special interest, because departures from the institutional background of Latin-American countries, may be mentioned freedom of religious worship, marriages as a purely civil institution, secularization of cemeteries and of public instruction, absolute independence of Church and State, freedom of speech and of the press, protection of the accused including trial by jury, and the abolition of the death penalty for political offenses. These constitutional guarantees may, however, be suspended in any part of the territory which may be declared to be in a state of siege, either by the Congress

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Art. 71.
[2] *Ibid.*, Title IV, Sec. II.

if in session or by the President if Congress is not in session. This power of suspending the constitutional guarantees gives the executive a powerful weapon which Brazilian Presidents have not hesitated to employ on frequent occasions, noticeably recently during the period when Brazil was a belligerent in the World War. It is obviously a dangerous power easily capable of abuse.

The Organization of the Federal Government

The principle of the separation of powers is expressly announced in two separate articles,[1] one of which defines the legislative, executive, and judicial powers as organs of the national sovereignty, harmonious with each other and independent among themselves, and the other of which declares that the citizen vested with functions belonging to one of the three federal powers shall not exercise those belonging to the other two. Accordingly, the Constitution devotes three sections to the consideration of the legislative power, the executive power, and the judiciary, respectively.

The Legislative Power.[2] The legislative power is vested in the National Congress, subject to the approval of the President of the Republic. The National Congress is composed of two branches, the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The elections for Senators and Deputies are held simultaneously throughout the country and no person may be senator and deputy at the same time. Congress meets annually on the 3d of May in the federal capital, without call, and continues in session for four months. The Congress itself may prorogue or adjourn its sessions and it may be called in special session by the President. The life of the Congress is three years. The chambers meet separately and in open session, unless otherwise determined by a majority vote. Each chamber passes on the qualifications of its members, chooses its own officers, adopts its own rules of procedure, and provides for its internal organization. Members of the Congress enjoy immunity for their opinion, expressions,

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Arts. 15 and 79.
[2] *Ibid.*, Title I, Section I.

or votes in the exercise of their function and are free from arrest or prosecution without consent of their respective chambers, except in *flagrante delicto* of a crime for which bail may not be given. The salary of the Deputies and Senators is fixed by each Congress at the close of its term for the next ensuing legislature. Members of Congress may not accept any salaried office from the President, except diplomatic missions, positions in the military service, or legal promotion. Such positions may not be accepted without the prior permission of the respective chambers, when the acceptance precludes the member from exercising his legislative functions. The office of senator or deputy is incompatible with all other functions whatsoever during the sessions, and no members may be president or director of a band, company, or enterprise which enjoys favors from the federal government defined by law. To be eligible for membership in the Congress there is required (1) enjoyment of the rights of a Brazilian citizen and of registration as an elector and (2) citizenship of more than four years for membership in the Chamber and of more than six years for membership in the Senate. The Congress itself may determine the cases of ineligibility to Congress. Vacancies in the Congress are to be filled by immediate election in the respective state.

The Chamber of Deputies [1] consists of at least four Deputies from each state and the federal district, and above that of not more than one for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The present number is 212 members, but should be double that size under the new census, unless the basis of representation is changed. The Deputies are elected by direct suffrage and the Constitution guarantees minority representation. The Chamber enjoys the initiative for the adjournment of the legislative session and in all laws touching the levying of taxes, the raising and fixing of the number of the land and naval forces, the discussion of recommendations made by the Executive, and the decision of the question whether the President should or should not be impeached, and whether the cabinet members should or should

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title I, Section I, Chapter II.

not also be impeached for crimes committed by them jointly with the President of the Republic.

The Senate[1] consists of sixty-three members, three from each state and three from the federal district, elected in the same manner as the Deputies. Senators must be over thirty-five years of age and their term of office is nine years, one-third being renewed every three years. The Vice-President of the Republic is president of the Senate with a vote only in case of tie. In case he cannot serve, the vice-president of the Senate acts in his place. When the Senate sits as a tribunal of justice, the president of the federal supreme court presides over it. The Senate has the sole power to try and to pass sentence on the President of the Republic and the other federal officers in case of impeachment, as prescribed by the Constitution. A two-thirds vote of the members present is required for passing sentence of condemnation, and its judgment cannot extend beyond the loss of the office and disqualification to hold any other. But the regular courts may proceed against the condemned.

The extent of the legislative powers of Congress has already been indicated.[2] Bills, save those reserved exclusively to the initiative of the Chamber (See p. 147 above), may be introduced by any member in either house. After being passed in one chamber, they are sent to the other chamber for its approval. If the second chamber approves, the bill is sent to the President for his approval, sanction, and promulgation. If the President objects to the bill he may veto it within ten working days and return it to the chamber in which it originated, with his reasons for the veto. If the President fails to approve or disapprove the bill within the time specified it becomes a law. If a bill is vetoed after Congress has adjourned, the President must publish the reasons for his sanction. A bill vetoed by the President may be enacted into law if it receives a two-thirds vote in each of the chambers. In case the President fails within forty-eight hours to promulgate a law duly passed over his veto, the president

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title I, Section I, Chapter III.
[1] See *ante*, page 146.

of the Senate, or in case of his failure to act, the vice-president of the Senate shall do so.

Either chamber may amend a bill sent to it from the other, and if the bill is accepted as amended it is then sent to the President. If the chamber of origin does not accept the amendments, the bill goes back to the amending chamber which can insist upon the amendments only by a two-thirds vote. If such a vote is had, the bill is again returned to the original chamber, which can reject the amendments only by a similar vote. Bills when once finally rejected or not approved may not be presented again in the same legislative session.

The Executive Power.[1] The executive power is vested in the President as elective head of the nation. A Vice-President, elected at the same time as the President, acts in his stead in case of disability and succeeds him in case of vacancy of the office. The vice-president of the Senate, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, and the president of the Federal Supreme Court in the order named, succeed to the presidency in case of disability or death of both the President and Vice-President. The President and Vice-President must be native Brazilians in the exercise of political rights and more than thirty-five years of age. The term of office of the President and Vice-President is four years. The President is ineligible for re-election to the next succeeding term, and the Vice-President who shall fill the presidency during the last year of the term is likewise ineligible for the next term as President. If a vacancy occurs in the office of President or Vice-President during the first two years of the term, a new election must be held.[2] The President and Vice-President take office on the fifteenth of November. Neither may leave the national territory during his term of office without the permission of the Congress. Their salary is fixed by Congress

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title I, Section II.

[2] This provision of the Constitution became the subject of bitter controversy during the presidency of Floriano, in 1892, when he was charged with having violated the Constitution in this regard by succeeding to the presidency in his capacity as Vice-President although President Deodoro had been in office less than a year when he resigned. See *ante*, page 129.

in the preceding presidential term. The salary of the President is 120,000 milreis a year; the present equivalent of about $15,000.

The President and Vice-President are elected on the first of March of the last year of the presidential term by direct popular suffrage, an absolute majority of votes being required for election. The votes are received and examined in the capitals of the states and in the federal capital for the respective districts and are counted by the Congress at its first meeting of the same year. In case no candidate has received an absolute majority of the votes cast, the Congress elects, by majority vote of its members present, one of the two candidates who have received the largest number of votes. In case of a tie in the congressional election, the older of the two candidates is declared elected. Congress is given power to regulate by ordinary law the process of election and the counting of the votes. Relatives, whether by blood or affinity, within the first or second degrees, of the President or Vice-President in the exercise of his powers at the time of the election or within six months before it, are ineligible to either of the offices.

The powers of the President are very similar to those of the Chief Executive of the United States of America. He sanctions, promulgates, and publishes the laws and resolutions of the Congress and has the express power to issue decrees, instructions, and regulations for their faithful execution. This power of executive ordinance is characteristic rather of continental European executives, however, than of the President of the United States. He appoints and dismisses at will the cabinet officers; acts as commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces; appoints all federal officers except as limited expressly by the Constitution; exercises the pardoning power for federal crimes except in cases of impeachment; declares war in case of foreign invasion or aggression, and in other cases declares war and makes peace by authority of the Congress; sends an annual message to the Congress; convokes the Congress in extraordinary session; appoints the federal judges upon nomination of the Supreme Court; appoints the members of the Supreme Court itself and

ministers of the diplomatic corps with the approval of the Senate, or by interim appointments when Congress is not in session; appoints all other members of the diplomatic corps and consular agents; maintains relations with foreign states; declares a state of siege in recess of the Congress or on authority of the same when in session; and negotiates agreements, conventions, and treaties with foreign powers, subject to approval by the Congress.

The President may be brought to trial by action of the Chamber of Deputies before the Federal Supreme Court for ordinary crimes and before the Senate for acts directed against: the political existence of the Union, the Constitution, and the form of the federal government, the free exercise of the political powers, the legal enjoyment and exercise of political and individual rights, the internal security of the country, the honesty of the administration, the constitutional custody and use of the public funds, or the appropriations voted by Congress. The definition of these offices and the manner and form of procedure in the trial are left to legislation by the Congress.[1]

The President is assisted by the Ministers of State appointed and removed by him, who countersign his acts and preside respectively over the departments into which the federal administration is divided. The number and jurisdiction of the Ministers of State are determined by law. There are at present seven of these Ministers in charge of the following departments: Justice and Interior; Foreign Relations; Navy; War; Communications and Public Works; Finance; Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The Ministers are the confidential agents of the President and are not responsible to the Congress or to the courts for advice given him. They are, however, liable to impeachment for crimes defined in the criminal law. They may not appear in the sessions of the Congress, but may appear personally before committees of the chambers. Their annual reports are addressed to the President, but are distributed to all the members of the Congress. The Ministers may not exercise any other employment or function of a public nature, whether appointive or elective.

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title I, Section II, Chapter V.

There is, therefore, in Brazil nothing in the nature of ministerial responsibility, but again a close modeling of the executive power in general and of the cabinet in particular upon the system found in the United States of America.

The Judiciary.[1] The judicial power is vested by the Constitution in a Federal Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as Congress may create. The Supreme Court consists of fifteen judges, appointed by the President with approval of the Senate, from among persons of notable learning and reputation eligible to the Senate. They hold office for life, being removable only by judicial sentence, and receive salaries that cannot be diminished. The judges of the inferior federal courts are appointed by the President upon nomination of the Supreme Court, and enjoy like tenure, being impeachable only by the Supreme Court, the members of which latter are tried, upon impeachment, by the Senate. There is a federal judge in each of the states. One of the judges of the Supreme Court is designated by the President as Attorney-General of the Republic.

The jurisdiction of the federal courts so far as it relates to the states has already been indicated.[2] It comprises in addition suits in contract to which the national government is a party, suits based on maritime and international law, and the trial of political crimes. The judgments of the federal courts are enforced by federal officers, but the state police are obliged to aid in their execution when called upon to do so.

The Federal District. The federal district in which is located Rio de Janeiro, the capital of the nation, comprises an area of about 431 square miles, with a population of more than a million. It is governed by a municipal council elected by popular vote and a prefect appointed by the President of the Republic.[3]

[1] Constitution of Brazil, Title I, Section III.

[2] *Ante,* page 143.

[3] The federal district of Brazil differs noticeably from the corresponding District of Columbia in the United States in possessing not merely a locally elected council for the determination of municipal matters, but more especially in having a proportionate representation in the Chamber of Deputies and an equal representation with the states in the Senate. Furthermore, the inhabitants

Finances and Functions of the Federal Government. The monetary system of Brazil is nominally based on the gold standard, the gold unit, known as the milreis, having a par value of about $0.57 in United States currency. The actual circulating medium is the paper milreis, redeemable at about $0.32. Its exchange value is, however, subject to great fluctuations. The revenues and expenditures of the government are calculated in gold milreis and paper milreis. The total revenues estimated for the year 1922 were 102,005,000, gold milreis and 624,761,000 paper milreis, the major source of income being the customs duties. The chief expenditures estimated for the same year amounted to 75,680,000 gold milreis and 711,640,000 paper milreis, the principal charges being in the department of finances which takes care of the public debt. The consolidated national debt at the end of 1919, divided into foreign and internal debt, amounted to some $500,000,000 of foreign debt and to some $350,000,000 of internal debt.

The Ministry of Transportation and Public Works showed the next largest estimated expenditures, having charge of the government railways, of which there were at the beginning of 1922 about 9,500 miles in operation out of a total railway mileage of 18,662, some 4,000 miles being administered directly by the government.[1] This department controls also the post office, with 3,696 offices in 1920, and the federal telegraph system with 54,536 miles of wire and 850 offices in 1919. It also directs the construction and maintenance of ports, irrigation works, and public works in the capital and the national territory.

The Ministry of War ranked next in estimated expenditures. Military service is compulsory for every Brazilian. The peace

of the federal district have a share in the election of the President, and other power denied to the inhabitants of our federal district.

[1] The principal railway is the Central, some 1500 miles long in 1922, and is owned and operated by the government. Its operation compares, however, very unfavorably with that of the privately owned lines or even those owned by the government and leased to private companies for operation (of which latter there were some 5,500 miles in 1922). The proposal to lease this line to private parties for operation has so far met the determined opposition generated by official pride and political considerations.

strength of the army is about 54,000. The navy, under the Ministry of Marine, has a personnel of about 8,000 and comprises two dreadnoughts, two battleships, and two protected cruisers, besides gunboats, destroyers, torpedo boats, submarines, and minor craft amounting to over fifty vessels in all.

The Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs has charge of the administration of the national territory and the federal district, the public health, the federal courts, and the educational institutions maintained by the federal government. These latter include the national University at Rio de Janeiro, created on September 20, 1920, by the union of the existing faculties of medicine and law and the polytechnic school, law faculties in two of the states, a faculty of medicine at Bahia, a high school and an agricultural college at Rio, and a number of elementary agricultural schools in the agricultural colonies. Besides this, the federal government aids primary education by subsidizing state, municipal, and private institutions throughout the country. The activities of the federal government are being rapidly extended in this field.

The State Government. The governments of the individual states, though left to their own determination, subject to constitutional principles of the Union, follow very much the same lines as those of the nation. The separation of powers is observed in the creation of legislatures, a popularly elected independent executive, and a judiciary with a secure tenure. The legislative power of the state extends to all matters not confided exclusively to the Union. The preservation of peace and order is in the hands chiefly of the state police and they exercise in general what is designated in the United States as the police power in the broad sense. There is, however, the greatest difference in the actual extent of governmental functions in the various states, due to differences in population and resources. Not only are many states most thinly populated, but in some of these the Indians and negroes and half-breeds of the lowest class constitute a large part of such population as there is. In these circumstances political power is concentrated in the hands of a few large landholders, sometimes even in a single family, so that the

Brazilians themselves speak of them as "feudal states." Such states present instances of the lack not only of self-government, but it might almost be said of any government at all, as public offices are regarded as private perquisites and even the most necessary and fundamental of governmental activities are scarcely attempted. So in some of the states primary instruction is compulsory and extensive, while in others it is not compulsory and very limited. The same is true of public works and sanitation. Municipal autonomy is guaranteed by the federal Constitution and in all municipalities there is a locally elected council.

Political Parties and Issues

Viscount Bryce[1] observes, that in the Brazilian politics of to-day there are many factions, but no organized parties nor any definite principles or policies advocated by any group of men. Federal issues are crossed and warped by state issues, state issues confused by federal issues, and both sets of issues turned rather on persons than on general doctrines or specific practical proposals. One source of dissension that has agitated the politics of most of the other Latin-American republics, namely the struggle of clericalism against the principles of religious equality, is, however, absent, for in Brazil the separation of Church and State is complete. The absence of the fluidity of parties, according to the same observer, makes the executive stronger than the legislature both in national and state politics. Among the economic issues of to-day he enumerates that of protection against free trade, the country being highly protectionist. The chief social questions are those relating to the extension of education and the enactment of better labor laws. The chief constitutional question is the relation of the national and the state governments. But on none of these does any legislative group seem to put forward any definite and consistent policy.

In spite of the declaration of democratic principles, Lord Bryce continues, there is to-day an aristocracy of wealth, chiefly the great landowners, which is in control of public affairs. No gov-

[1] *South America,* pages 411–413.

ernment can apply democratic principles, however good its intentions, in a country where seven-eighths of the people are ignorant, and half of them belong to the backward races, unfit to exercise political rights. The large *fazendeiros* or plantation owners direct the politics of their district just as in England a hundred years ago the county families used to control local affairs and guide the choice of representatives in Parliament. And the Brazilian is primarily a man of the country, not of the city.

Other observers record the same impressions[1] and comment upon the important rôle played by the administration, which is controlled by these landowners, a rôle likened to that of the administration in a European colony like Algeria, or as in India. Added to these factors is the further fact that a large part of the population, namely the negroes and the immigrants, is totally indifferent to politics. The spread of real democracy, therefore, waits upon the gradual process of public education, a direction in which it must be said the country has been making of recent years the most admirable progress.

Summary Table of Economic Conditions in Brazil

Total foreign commerce in 1920 valued at $807,701,650; exports, $368,308,322; imports, $439,393,228.

Chief exports in 1920: *Coffee*—11,523,000 sacks of 132 pounds each. Four-fifths of the coffee of the world comes from Brazil. *Rubber*—23,531 metric tons of 2,205 pounds each. About half of the world's supply of rubber comes from Brazil. *Leather*—37,265 metric tons. *Cocoa*—54,419 metric tons. *Tobacco*—31,469 metric tons. *Yerba Maté*—90,868 metric tons.

Chief imports are food products, chemicals and drugs, iron and steel manufactures, cotton manufactures, and leather manufactures. The United States ranked first both in imports from and exports to Brazil in 1918, with Great Britain and Argentina next.

Communications. At the end of 1920 there were 18,662 miles of railroads, of which 9,455 belonged to the federal govern-

[1] Denis, *Brazil*, Introduction.

ment, 1,527 miles to the states, and 6,231 were privately owned. In the same year there were 54,536 miles of telegraph lines and 252,318 miles of telephone wires. An elaborate system of wireless telegraphs is in process of completion.

Shipping and Navigation. Over 24,000 vessels, steam and sailing, entered and cleared the ports of Brazil in 1920. The Brazilian merchant marine comprised in 1919, 588 steam vessels and 55 sailing vessels. All coasting and river vessels must be Brazilian. The inland waterways, mostly rivers, are navigable for more than 40,000 miles and furnish convenient connections with practically all the neighboring states.

Production and Industry. In addition to its vast agricultural products Brazil possesses a boundless wealth in forests and mines. The forests have as yet been scarcely touched, the forest area being estimated at 1,500,000 square miles. In 1919, however, lumber to the value of $3,500,000 was exported. Coal, gold, diamonds, and manganese ores are chief among the mineral products. The chief manufacturing industry is cotton weaving, but manufacturing in all lines is developing with great rapidity, especially in connection with the transformation of raw foodstuffs into finished articles.

CHAPTER V

ARGENTINA

Argentina Since Independence

The Organization of the Republic. The share taken by the inhabitants of the former viceroyalty of Buenos Aires in the Wars of Independence has already been sketched. It will be recalled that on May 25, 1810, an armed assembly forced the resignation of the Viceroy Cisneros, and the appointment of a junta to govern the country in the name of Ferdinand VII. We have seen that in spite of the internecine strife in which the government of Buenos Aires was continually involved, it contrived to extend its authority over many of the provinces and alone among the revolutionary movements throughout Spanish America was able to survive the monarchical reaction following the return of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in 1815. In the following year a congress at Tucumán proclaimed the complete independence of the "United Provinces of South America" and elected Don Martín Pueyrredón as supreme dictator. The next ten years were occupied with almost continual civil wars. The Argentines were endeavoring, although at first blindly and unconsciously, to reconcile two conflicting tendencies—the centripetal and centrifugal, the necessity for union and the spirit of local autonomy. These two political principles, which find their counterpart elsewhere in Latin America, eventually resulted in the appearance of two political parties—the Unitarians and the Federalists. The former, recruited largely from Buenos Aires, believed in a centralized government with Buenos Aires at its head. It was in fact entirely natural that the oligarchy of liberals who ruled in the capital and who included most of the brains of the country should aspire to extend their control over

the outlying provinces. Their political ideas were imported largely from France. Opposed to the Unitarians were the provincials, headed by military chieftains known as *caudillos.* Though they called themselves Federalists their real aim was to make their provinces virtually independent of Buenos Aires. They derived their support chiefly from the half-breed *gauchos,* the cowboys of the pampas, illiterate, knowing nothing of politics, but brave and fanatically devoted to the caudillos.

The Epoch of Rivadavia. The ablest of the Unitarians was Bernardino Rivadavia, one of the secretaries of Governor Rodríguez of Buenos Aires from 1820 to 1823 and President of Argentina from 1826 to 1827. So completely did he dominate the period that it is customary to speak of these years as the epoch of Rivadavia. Space permits the briefest mention of only a few of his attempted reforms. The University of Buenos Aires was founded; with the aid of James Thompson, a representative of the Lancastrian Society, a system of public schools was established. The women of Buenos Aires, at the instance of Rivadavia, founded the "Sociedad de Beneficencia," an organization which exercised supervision over schools for girls, orphan asylums, hospitals, and other eleemosynary institutions. An amnesty law was passed; the cabildos, which having played their great rôle had now become a source of disorder, were abolished; a great banking institution, the Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, was established. Rivadavia's ecclesiastical reforms included secularization of the monasteries and the abolition of the so-called *fuero,* which had permitted the members of the clergy to be tried before their own courts. It is unnecessary to add that Rivadavia was able to put into effect only a fraction of the many reforms he projected, and is to be judged rather by what he planned than by what he accomplished. While President Mitre's dictum that Rivadavia was the greatest statesman next to Washington that America has produced is subject to many reservations, certainly he laid the foundation for Argentina's future development.

During Rivadavia's presidency Buenos Aires became involved

in serious foreign complications. In 1817 the "Banda Oriental del Uruguay" had been occupied by the troops of the Portuguese ruler John VI, then residing in Rio de Janeiro. But the Uruguayans objected to foreign rule; in 1825 they rose in revolt and asked aid from their brothers across the Rio de la Plata. Such a request could hardly be refused; in the war which followed the Brazilians were defeated at Ituzaingó (1827). The outcome of the struggle resulted in the creation of the independent republic of Uruguay, thanks largely to the mediation of Great Britain, whose minister Lord Ponsonby declared "that Europe would never consent that only two states, Brazil and Argentina, should be the exclusive owners of the east coast of South America."

The Dictatorship of Rosas. Rivadavia's presidency was also notable for the promulgation of the Unitarian Constitution of 1826 which aimed to bring the provinces into closer union with the capital. But such opposition developed that Rivadavia resigned the following year and the country rapidly drifted into anarchy. The various provinces went their own way under their local *caudillos.* Of these chieftains, masquerading under the name of "federalist," the most important was Juan Manuel de Rosas, a prosperous rancher of the southern part of the province of Buenos Aires and the idol of the gauchos. In 1829 the legislature of the province of Buenos Aires elected him governor and captain-general; six years later he was granted the sum total of public authority and became an out-and-out dictator. Through persuasion and pressure twelve other provinces were induced to delegate to him certain executive powers, including the conduct of foreign relations. To guard against revolt Rosas appointed his own creatures as governors. This system, by which the various provinces were united by political and personal bonds, was called the Argentine Confederation. Rosas's rule was one of force. All opposition was crushed ruthlessly. With the aid of a society of cutthroats called the "Mazorca" the Unitarians were hunted down like wild beasts. Unlike the rule of Díaz in Mexico, the despotism of Rosas was unenlightened. Commerce and trade stagnated; immigration was discouraged.

Rosas profoundly distrusted foreigners and came into conflict with both England and France on the question of the free navigation of the Paraná.

Rosas's despotism could not last indefinitely. Under his rule the country was slowly reverting to barbarism. Few Argentines of ability were willing to be a party to such a system. Uruguay, Chile, and Bolivia became the asylums of a whole cohort of distinguished *émigrés,* several of whom later became presidents of Argentina. Eventually Rosas was to fall by the hand of one of his own creatures. The caudillos could not be indefinitely held in leash. Of these provincial leaders the most important was Justo José de Urquiza, the governor of the rich and fertile province of Entre Rios. Not only did Urquiza chafe under the tyranny of Rosas—his province suffered severely from the commercial restrictions imposed by Rosas—but his sentiments as an Argentine revolted at the methods employed by the dictator to perpetuate his power. In 1851 he concluded an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay, both of which states had their grievances against Rosas, and at the head of the "Liberating Army of South America" inflicted a crushing defeat on the dictator at Caseros, near Buenos Aires (February 3, 1852). With the aid of a British warship Rosas reached England, where he lived a quarter of a century longer. Despite the sterility of Rosas's long rule, it was not as utterly bad as his detractors would have us believe. His great achievement was the substitution of some kind of order out of the existing anarchy; his despotism, brutal and drastic as it was, probably saved the country from disintegration. He preserved the idea of national unity without entirely sacrificing the principles of federalism.

The Presidency of Urquiza. The Constitution of 1853. The fall of Rosas left Urquiza supreme, and in a very real sense his advent to power ushers in a new era in Argentine history. From this time on the social evolution of Argentina was to be conditioned by two factors, immigration and foreign capital. Urquiza used his victory wisely. He was quick to see that the political life of the country must undergo a complete reorganiza-

tion and that a new constitution, designated to meet the new conditions, must be drafted. Fortunately he had as his collaborator Juan Bautista Alberdi, "the most original thinker on politics whom South America has produced,"[1] whose remarkable work, *"Bases and Points of Departure for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic"* exercised a decisive influence on the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly which met in 1852 at Sante Fé, the capital of Paraná. Though Alberdi, like most of the other distinguished Argentines banished by Rosas, admired the unitary type of government, he had come to realize that the federal form was best fitted for Argentina. The result was the federal Constitution of 1853, which with certain modifications is the Constitution under which the republic is still governed. In the election which followed Urquiza was chosen president of the Argentine Confederation for the constitutional term of six years.

Political Schism. Buenos Aires Versus the Confederation. Unhappily, the most powerful member of the Confederation remained aloof. Fearful lest their privileges might suffer curtailment, the inhabitants of Buenos Aires refused to send delegates to the convention at Santa Fé and declined to consider their province as part of the Confederation. Realizing that such a cleavage could from the very nature of things not remain permanent, Urquiza, with rare forbearance, refused to coerce the recalcitrant province. A political schism now arose which lasted from 1853 to 1861. The Confederation under Urquiza had its capital at Paraná, while Buenos Aires went its own way as a separate state. Both sections prospered; railway construction was begun, immigrants began to arrive in increasing numbers, trade and commerce made rapid strides. But the political situation was anomalous; the increasing friction finally culminated in 1861 in an armed conflict, in which the forces of the Confederation were defeated by the Porteños (as the inhabitants of Buenos Aires or "the Port" were called) under General

[1] The phrase is that of Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, *Turner Essays in American History*, page 273.

Mitre at the Battle of Pavón. The province of Buenos Aires re-entered the Confederation, and through the transference of the federal capital from Paraná to Buenos Aires, secured a predominant place in the republic. While the relation between Buenos Aires and her sister provinces was to remain unsettled for another two decades, no further attempts were made to divide Argentina into two separate nations.

The Presidency of Mitre (1862-1868). In the readjustment which followed the Battle of Pavón General Mitre was elected President for the ensuing six years. In many respects the country could hardly have made a more happy choice. Like so many liberals of the time Mitre had been banished by Rosas; he had lived successively in Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Chile, supporting himself chiefly by his literary and journalistic work. For a time he served in both the Uruguayan and Bolivian armies; later he took a conspicuous part in the overthrow of Rosas and finally, as we have just seen, championed the cause of the Porteños against Urquiza. In 1852 he had founded *La Nación,* which soon became one of the foremost organs of public opinion in South America. Besides a large number of speeches, poems, and essays, he was the author of two monumental works dealing with the heroic period of Argentine history: the lives of Belgrano and San Martín.

President Mitre from the very first gave evidence of a spirit of moderation and sincere patriotism. The tension between the provincials and the Porteños, or between the autonomists and the nationalists, as they were sometimes called, visibly lessened. Mitre was content to leave Urquiza in virtually undisputed possession of Entre Rios and permitted the loyal caudillos a certain measure of autonomy. Under his enlightened administration the country entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity. This progress suffered only a temporary setback through the Paraguayan War, the causes and chief episodes of which have already been discussed in the chapter on Brazil.

Sarmiento, the "Schoolmaster-President of Argentina" (1868-1874). Two years before the conclusion of the Paraguayan

War, Mitre's term of office came to an end and he was succeeded by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, in some respects the most striking and forceful figure in the long line of Argentine executives. Sarmiento was born in 1811 in the little town of San Juan on the slopes of the Andes. His father was a muleteer who had helped San Martín to transport his army across the Andes in 1817. By dint of hard effort Sarmiento had acquired an excellent education; like most of the intellectuals of the period he preferred exile to craven submission to Rosas. For a number of years he enjoyed the hospitality of Chile, on whose educational development he exercised a great influence. Commissioned by the Chilean government to make a study of educational progress abroad, he visited the United States and became a devoted admirer of the New England educator, Horace Mann. From this period dates Sarmiento's almost fanatical enthusiasm for popular education.

The death of Rosas made possible Sarmiento's return to Argentina. In the political schism of the fifties he espoused the cause of Buenos Aires. As a writer, educator, and political leader, he soon achieved recognition and in 1864 was appointed Argentine Minister to the United States. Almost every hour of his two years' sojourn in North America which could be snatched from his official duties were spent in a study of the North American educational system and he became a fervent admirer of the North American people.

The presidency of Sarmiento was an era of almost uninterrupted advance. The energies of the government were chiefly expended in promoting immigration—Sarmiento was a firm believer in Mitre's dictum, "to govern is to populate"—encouraging railway construction, and fostering popular education. In all of these fields remarkable progress was achieved, although the administration has been rightly taxed with extravagance. Sarmiento made his personal influence felt in every branch of the government. He was an advocate of the system *gobierno fuerte;* he ruthlessly put down sporadic disorders in the provinces, and set in motion the entire machinery of the state to

punish a certain López Jordan who had cowardly murdered Sarmiento's old political opponent, Urquiza.

As a writer Sarmiento holds an honored place in the annals of Argentine literature. Of his works, which total some fifty-two volumes, by all odds the most famous is the historical novel, *Facundo, or Civilization and Barbarism.* It is not only a notable study of the social conditions in Argentina in the early nineteenth century, but is also a devastating arraignment of the governmental system of Rosas. Sarmiento's other works embrace an immense number of writings on educational subjects, including a life of Lincoln intended for use in the elementary schools. Perhaps the greatest service rendered by Sarmiento was to bring home to the Argentines the essential interdependence of democracy and popular education.

The Presidency of Avellaneda and the Federalization of Buenos Aires (1874-1880). In many respects Avellaneda carried on the best traditions of Sarmiento's administration, especially in the extension of the public-school system. During his presidency several million acres of arable land were added to the national domain by the subjugation of the Indians in the southern pampas. This "Conquest of the Desert" was carried out by an able officer of the army, General Julio Roca. Unfortunately, much of this national patrimony was dissipated through its reckless sale in large parcels at nominal prices. Many of the great fortunes made in land date from this time.

To the student of the political evolution of Argentina, the most significant developments in Avellaneda's administration was the successful effort to settle the apparently insoluble relations between the province and city of Buenos Aires and the rest of the republic. Although the issues of unitarianism as opposed to federalism were extinct, there was a growing impatience on the part of the provinces at the undue influence enjoyed in national affairs by the capital. Buenos Aires, with a population of over a quarter of a million, was not only the largest city in Argentina but was likewise the capital both of the province of Buenos Aires and of the Confederation. Province and city together

contained over thirty per cent of the population of the country. Naturally the Porteños were unwilling to abandon any of their advantages. As the end of Avellaneda's term approached two candidates appeared: General Roca, now Minister of War, and the choice of the outgoing President, and Dr. Carlos Tejador, a noted jurisconsult of Buenos Airés. The Porteños were determined to secure the election of Tejador at any cost; and when it became clear that the whole machinery of the national government, supported by the twelve provinces which constituted the Córdoba League, was to be thrown in favor of Roca, Buenos Aires resolved on war. A number of engagements fought in or near Buenos Aires resulted in the victory of the national army under Roca. The power of Buenos Aires completely collapsed and Roca was elected to the presidency unopposed (1880).

Roca wisely seized this propitious occasion to settle once for all the perennial question which had divided the provincials and Porteños into hostile camps. In September, 1880, Buenos Aires was separated from the rest of the province and erected into a federal district. From now on the preponderance of Buenos Aires was to be commercial, intellectual, and social; but not political. The province of Buenos Aires, now shorn of its capital, took its place merely as *primus inter pares* among the thirteen other states. A new provincial capital, la Plata, laid out on a magnificant scale, was created over night, as it were. Political equilibrium between the provinces and Buenos Aires had at last been attained. The new federal capital from now on acted as a cohesive force rather than as a source of discord.

Argentine History Since 1880. With the federalization of Buenos Aires the most important question of internal politics may be said to have been settled, and the nation was permitted with but occasional interruptions to direct its energies to the development of the country's marvelous natural resources. The last forty years have witnessed an increase in material prosperity and growth of national wealth which have placed Argentina in the vanguard of the Latin-American republics. During this period the national revenue has increased from eighteen

million to over two hundred million dollars; the railway mileage has risen from fifteen hundred to twenty-two thousand miles; annual immigration has increased from forty-one thousand to over three hundred thousand;[1] foreign commerce has increased from one hundred million to over a billion and three-quarters dollars; population has risen from two and three-quarter millions to over eight and one-half millions. The narrative history of these four decades will be quickly summarized and only a few of the internal developments will be mentioned. General Roca, whose enlightened administration was reflected in a great wave of material prosperity, was guilty of a serious blunder. As the end of his term approached, he permitted the Córdoba League to force through the election of his brother-in-law, Juárez Celman, admittedly the worst executive Argentina has had since the days of Rosas. Under Celman (1886-1890) an unholy alliance was established between the government and corrupt business interests. Concessions with high guarantees of interest were scattered broadcast; public credits were pledged to fill the pockets of private adventurers, graft and speculation assumed unprecedented proportions. Fortunately, there remained sufficient health and sanity in the body politic to produce a salutary reaction. Under the lead of a number of able, public-spirited men, the *Unión Cívica* was founded in 1889 for the purpose of exposing the corruption of the administration, and if possible of forcing the resignation of Celman. Though an armed revolt in Buenos Aires proved abortive and the army remained loyal to the government, so overwhelming was the force of outraged public opinion that Celman retired from office in 1890.

To Celman's successors, Pellegrini (1890-1892), and Luis Sáenz Peña (1892-1895), was bequeathed the ungrateful task of guiding the country through the grave crisis which followed the debauchery of national honor and the dissipation of national resources under Celman. The task would have been all but insuperable had it not been for the tremendous recuperative power

[1] This last figure applies to the year 1913; immigration greatly fell off, owing to the World War.

of the country. Hardly was the economic recovery well under way, before Argentina found herself involved in a boundary controversy with Chile, which brought the two countries to the brink of war. As early as 1881 through the mediation of the United States a treaty was signed, according to which the boundary was to follow the line of the Cordilleras of the Andes. But difficulties of interpretation soon arose. It appeared that the Andes did not form one continuous, unbroken line. The Argentines then claimed that the boundary should run from highest peak to highest peak, while the Chileans insisted that it should follow the line of the watershed. The tension between the two countries, fed by rumors that each nation was preparing for war, rapidly increased. Funds badly needed for public improvement were squandered on a ruinous naval competition. Finally in August, 1898, Chile declared what was virtually an ultimatum, demanding that the dispute regarding the northen section of the Cordilleras, known as the district of Atacama, be submitted to arbitration. For a time the issues of peace and war hung in the balance, but the administration of President Uriburu (1895-1898), following the advice of Roca, accepted the Chilean demands. The Atacama dispute was submitted to the arbitration of the United States Minister Buchanan; that of the southern Cordilleras to King Edward VII. Mr. Buchanan's award was made in April, 1899, but it was not until 1902 that the decision of the British sovereign was announced. In the interim the attitude of both countries became very bellicose and had it not been for the diplomatic pressure of Great Britain exerted at Buenos Aires and Santiago, hostilities would possibly have broken out. The final adjustment of all outstanding disputes was signalized by the erection of an immense statue of Christ on the summit of the Uspallata Pass as a pledge of perpetual peace between the two republics. The only other important boundary controversy, that with Brazil, over a portion of the Missions territory, was submitted to the arbitration of President Cleveland and the award, made in 1895 and almost wholly favorable to Brazil, was loyally accepted by Argentina.

Recent years have witnessed a growing cordiality between Argentina and her two neighbors on the north and west. In 1915 was negotiated a treaty between the three republics, providing that any disputes which could not be settled by ordinary means should be submitted for investigation and report to a permanent commission, to be constituted at Montevideo and to which each of these three powers should send delegates. Within a year from the date of the submission of such dispute the commission must present a report on the points at issue; meanwhile each power pledges itself to refrain from hostilities. This treaty has been ratified by Chile and Brazil, but not by Argentina. Nevertheless, it has a real importance as bearing testimony to the increasing friendship and solidarity of the three so-called "A. B. C. powers."

The last decade of Argentine history has witnessed a number of other interesting developments both in domestic and foreign affairs. In 1912, thanks largely to the enthusiasm and high civic spirit of President Roque Sáenz-Peña, a new electoral law was passed providing for compulsory secret voting. The first presidential election held after the passage of this law took place in 1916. An overwhelming percentage of the Argentina electorate voted; the party in power, which for years had made and unmade presidents, was defeated and the candidate of the radicals, Dr. Hipólito Irigoyen, was elected president. To an extent equaled in but few of the other Latin-American countries public opinion in Argentina has become really articulate. As will be explained elsewhere in our text, Argentina was profoundly affected by the World War, although, largely through the efforts of President Irigoyen, the country remained neutral. In 1922 Dr. Irigoyen was succeeded by Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear, likewise a candidate of the radical party.

General Features of Argentina

Topography. Argentina is the second in area of the Latin-American republics, having a total area of 1,153,159 square miles, or about one-third as large as Brazil or continental United States.

Its territory stretches from latitude 22° south, or just a little above the Tropic of Capricorn, to 55° south, a distance of 2300 miles from north to south. From east to west it extends from longitude 54° to 73° 30′ west of Greenwich, with a maximum width of over 800 miles. It lies, therefore, practically wholly within the south temperate zone. Contiguous to the five South American countries of Uruguay, Brazil, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Chile, the country has natural boundaries on all sides except toward Bolivia: namely, the Andes on the west, the Atlantic Ocean and the rivers Uruguay, Paraná, and Pilcomayo on the east.

The country is roughly marked off into three great sections, the central plains or pampas which cover more than three-fourths of its surface, the river region on the eastern side, and the mountain chains. The most important part of the territory from an economic standpoint is the plains of the central region, where the agriculture and stock raising are carried on that form the basis of the wealth of the country. The rivers of the country flow almost without exception into the Atlantic Ocean on the east, and the most important ones, the Uruguay, which constitutes the boundary between the country of the same name and Argentina, and the Paraná, with its affluent the Paraguay, which separate Argentina from Paraguay, unite in the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, on which is situated the capital of the country, Buenos Aires. The most important of the mountain chains is the Cordillera of the Andes, which extends the entire length of the country in the west and constitutes the boundary between Argentina and Chile. The climatic conditions vary in general with the latitude, from subtropical conditions in the north to cold, though not severe, winters in the extreme south. There is, therefore, no part of the country that is not suitable for colonization by the Caucasian race.

Population. The population of Argentina, according to the last official census in 1914 was 7,885,237, and it is now estimated at something between eight and nine millions. The population of Argentina, unlike that of most of the other Latin-American states, is almost wholly white. The native Indians were

practically exterminated in the course of time, and the limited mixed white and Indian blood—the so-called *gauchos*—that resulted from the union of the colonists and the Indian women has long since been absorbed into the general population. Nor has there been any appreciable admixture of negro blood into the population, for although African slaves were imported into the country in colonial times, the number was relatively small and the intermarriage of the white with the black race occurred to no such extent as in Brazil.

The most striking feature of the population of Argentina is the large percentage of foreign born, being nearly twice as great as in the United States of America. In the sixty years from 1857 to 1917 it is estimated that nearly five million Europeans immigrated into Argentina. About half of these immigrants were Italians, about a third Spaniards, and the rest from the other countries of Europe, principally France and Russia. A disproportionate share of the immigration has settled in Buenos Aires, accounting for the phenomenal increase in population of that city, which is the largest one in Latin America, having an estimated population in 1918 of about 1,700,000, or about one-fifth of the total population of the country. Of this number about forty per cent are foreign born, a proportion which, however large, is no greater than is found in such cities as New York and Chicago in the United States. A considerable portion of the Italian immigration, however, consists of rural agricultural laborers who come to Argentina during the crop season there and return to Italy to harvest their own crops when the winter season sets in, in the southern hemisphere.

Constitution and Government

The Argentine Republic, as Argentina is commonly called, or the Argentine Nation, as it is officially designated in the Constitution and in the enactment of laws, is governed under the Constitution framed in 1853 and revised in 1860 upon the entrance of the province of Buenos Aires into the Argentine Confederation. The Constitution of 1853, as has been said, was closely

modeled upon that of the United States of America, and though amended at the insistence of the province of Buenos Aires in 1860 in the direction of securing greater autonomy to the provinces, it still adheres very closely to the spirit and even the letter of our own Constitution.

Federal Features of the Government. The Constitution adopts as the form of government for the Argentine Nation the "federal republican representative form." As that term, used verbatim, it will be remembered in the Constitution of Brazil also, is capable of application to widely varying forms of government, it will be necessary to examine somewhat in detail the distribution of powers between the central and local governments and the manner of their actual exercise, in order to get a true picture of what federal state means under the Argentine Constitution.

If we consider first, as was done in the case of Brazil, the question of the origin or source of the powers conferred upon the two elements in the Argentine federal state, we find that the situation there resembled more that of the United States of America than that of the United States of Brazil. It is true that the provinces of Rio de la Plata at the time the movement for independence took form were united under the control of the viceroy of Buenos Aires, the direct representative of the Spanish Crown, whereas in the thirteen colonies of North America there was no general authority over the whole of the colonies except the British Crown itself. Yet the Declaration of Independence of 1816 was declared to be the act of the United Provinces of South America, and in 1811 there had been put into force a provisional law for the government of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. The revolutionary junta of 1810 itself was composed of representatives of the capitals of the provinces and of the districts within the provinces. There may, indeed, be some question whether the central government that was established derived its powers from the provinces themselves or from the various cities within the provinces, but that it was the result of the voluntary union of political groups, which were held together by the compulsion of no central force after the overthrow of the last Spanish

viceroy, and not, as in Brazil, merely a change in the form of governmental power exercised over the provinces, seems sufficiently clear. The Argentine provinces may, therefore, be considered as exercising original rather than delegated powers, and to that extent the nation fulfills one requirement of the federal state.

In Argentina, moreover, the struggle between the federalists and the centralists was more bitter and more protracted than in Brazil or in the United States, and for years subordinated almost all other issues to that one. The adoption of the Constitution of 1853 after the termination of the dictatorship of Rosas, and its acceptance in revised form in 1860, may be said to have marked the termination of that controversy, but the question of local autonomy versus centralization within the general limits of a federal form of government is the subject of sharp differences of opinion to-day in Argentina as in the United States of America.

The Constitution of the Argentine Nation expressly reserves to the provinces, as the constituent units are still called there, all the powers not delegated by the Constitution to the federal government,[1] and the term *"conservar,"* or retain, indicates clearly that the federal Constitution in that country as in ours was considered a grant of powers to the federal government and a limitation upon the state governments. By examining, therefore, the extent of the grant of powers to the federal government, we can discover to what extent the powers of the provinces or states have been diminished in this way. The powers are conferred in various portions of the Constitution, but are found chiefly in the articles defining the powers of the National Congress.[2] Among these are the power to impose import and export duties to be uniform throughout the nation, to levy direct taxes, to borrow money, to establish a national bank with power to issue bank notes, to grant subsidies out of the national treasury to provinces that need assistance, to coin money, to regulate weights and measures, to enact civil, commercial, penal, and mining codes, to regulate citizenship and naturalization, to

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Art. 104.
[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 67.

legislate on bankruptcy, to regulate interstate and foreign commerce, to establish and regulate post offices and post roads, to fix the boundaries of the republic and of the provinces, to admit new provinces and administer the national territories, to promote industry, immigration, and the construction of railroads and canals, to colonize national lands, to approve or reject treaties, to authorize the declaration of war or peace, to fix the land and naval forces of the country, and make rules for their government, to call out the militia of the provinces, to proclaim a state of siege in case of internal disturbance, and to enact all laws and regulations necessary to carry into effect the powers granted to the government of the Argentine Nation.

In other portions of the Constitution there are also express grants of power to the federal government. First among these may be mentioned the provision that the federal government supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church.[1] This virtually establishes that institution as a state church, for the federal government contributes about a million dollars a year to the expenses of that church, the federal Congress is charged with the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic religion, the President and Vice-President must be Catholics, and the President exercises the right of ecclesiastical patronage by nominating bishops for each diocese from a list of three presented by the Senate. The federal government, moreover, approves or withholds approval from conciliar decrees and Papal bulls, briefs, and rescripts. At the same time freedom of worship is guaranteed to all by the Constitution, and the Congress itself has granted subventions to a system of Protestant schools. There is little or no effort, furthermore, on the part of the Church to influence public affairs. No political party is allied with the clergy, no clerical influence is felt in the elections. In spite of these provisions of the Constitution, therefore, the Church has less to do with politics in[2] Argentina than in almost any of the other Latin-American republics.

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Art. 2.
[2] Bryce, *South America*, page 342.

Of the greatest possible importance in determining the actual influence of the federal government are the provisions of two articles, Articles 5 and 6, under which the federal government guarantees to each province the exercise and enjoyment of its own institutions and is given express power to intervene in the provinces for the preservation of the republican form of government. At first sight these provisions would seem to be a mere paraphrase of Article V, Section 4 of the Constitution of the United States, under which the United States shall guarantee to every state a republican form of government. But whereas, as is well known, this provision of the United States Constitution has never been made the basis of federal intervention in the affairs of any state, in Argentina it has repeatedly been invoked to justify armed intervention in the affairs of the provinces, sometimes to retain an existing provincial government in power, sometimes to overthrow it. In the first fifty years after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1860 there were more than fifty instances of intervention by the federal government in the governmental affairs of the provinces under the provisions of these two articles. It is largely in consequence of this situation that the provincial governors, who by the Constitution[1] are declared to be the natural agents of the federal government for the enforcement of the Constitution and the laws of the nation, are above all political agents of the President rather than independent local executives. Indeed, in the opinion of a prominent Argentine publicist[2] the practice of the federal government with regard to this power of intervention has in effect nullified that other provision of the Constitution which stipulates that the provinces shall elect their governors, legislatures, and provincial functionaries without intervention of the federal government. This situation is enough in itself to establish a totally different relation between the federal and state governments in Argentina from the one that exists in the United States of America, where

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Art. 110.

[2] José Nicolás Matienzo, *Le Gouvernment Représentatif Fédéral dans La République Argentine* (Paris, 1912), Ch. XV.

the state governors occupy a position of complete independence over against the President.

Other powers expressly conferred upon the federal government include chiefly the judicial power, which intrusts to the federal courts jurisdiction over all causes involving the Constitution or the laws of the nation, except that cases arising under the civil, commercial, penal, and mining codes may under the Constitution be tried by either federal or provincial courts. This jurisdiction includes also causes arising under foreign treaties, cases involving ambassadors, ministers, and foreign consuls, admiralty and maritime cases, cases in which the nation is a party, and cases between two or more provinces or between a province and the citizens of another province, or between citizens of different provinces, or between a province or its citizens against a foreign citizen or state. The jurisdiction of the federal courts as originally determined in the Constitution of 1853 had been even more extensive, but was reduced in the revision of 1860 at the insistence of the province of Buenos Aires. As it stands, however, it is as extensive as that of the federal courts in the United States of America, and there as here controversies involving the relative powers of state and nation are finally determined by the latter.

The powers of the states or provinces, in addition to being designated by the general provision reserving all powers to them if not granted to the federal government, are both protected and restricted by other specific provisions of the Constitution. So, for example, the Constitution expressly guarantees to the provinces the right to enact their own constitutions and to have their local institutions and laws under which they shall be governed. But this right is qualified by the requirement that the constitution must be framed on the basis of a republican representative form of government, a requirement which the federal government is expressly authorized by the Constitution to enforce by intervention, and which, as has been seen, affords the national President a position of political superiority over the provincial governments. Again, though the provinces are expressly forbidden

to exercise any power delegated to the nation, they may with the consent of the federal Congress conclude certain kinds of treaties relating to the administration of justice, the regulation of financial interests, or the execution of public works, and may likewise with the consent of Congress enter into many of the fields of governmental action which are in another article enumerated as attributes of the Federal Power.

Furthermore there are, as in this country and in Brazil, prohibitions that apply alike to the national and the state governments. The bill of rights, for example, sets forth certain fundamental principles which obviously apply to the national government and no less clearly constitute limitations on the provincial governments as well, since these are, under the Constitution, to be governed in a manner in harmony with the principles, declarations, and guaranties of the national Constitution.[1] These guaranties include among others the right to work and engage in lawful industry; the right to navigate and engage in commerce; the right to petition the authorities; the right to enter the national territory, remain in it, travel through it, or leave it; the right to liberty of the press without previous censorship; the right to use and dispose of private property; the right of association; the right to freedom of religious worship already noted; the right to teach and learn; the principle of equality before the law, in taxation, and eligibility for public office according to fitness; the right to previous indemnification for private property taken for a public purpose in accordance with the law, the enjoyment of patent and copyright privileges; the protection of persons accused of crimes against *ex post facto* laws, against arrest without warrant, against testifying against themselves, against trial by special commissions, and against torture and whipping as penalties as well as against the death penalty for political offenses; the inviolability of domicile and of correspondence; and in general the right to do whatever is not forbidden by law and to refrain from doing what is not demanded in the same way. These rights are extended to aliens as well as to citizens,

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Art. 5.

but may be suspended in any province or territory in case of domestic disturbance or foreign attack endangering the observance of the Constitution and the safety of authorities created by it. Even in such cases, however, the national executive himself has no power to condemn or punish any person, but may simply arrest the persons engaged in the affair and remove them to some other section of the country.

As in the United States, each province is required by the Constitution to give full faith and credit to the public acts and judicial records of the others, the National Congress being empowered to determine how such acts and records shall be proved and what legal effect they shall have. Similarly, the Argentine Constitution follows our own in assuring to the citizens of each state the rights, privileges, and immunities inherent in citizenship in all the others. The extradition of criminals is also made reciprocally obligatory on all the provinces.[1]

Finally, it may be noted that in the process of amending the Constitution the states or provinces as such do not participate as they do in the United States of America, where ratification by three-fourths of the states is required. In Argentina they do not even have the power of proposing amendments as they do in Brazil, for it is the Congress alone that is empowered to declare the necessity of amending the Constitution by a two-thirds vote of its members. This is analogous to the system of proposing amendments to the Constitution in France, but in Argentina the Congress itself does not frame the amendments, that function being performed by a constituent convention to be called for that purpose. As a matter of fact, there have been but few formal amendments adopted, the principal ones being the amendments of 1866 which eliminated the prohibition on export duties that was to have become effective in that year, and the amendments of 1898 which changed the ratio of representation in the lower house of Congress from one to every 20,000 inhabitants to one for every 33,000, and increased the number of cabinet ministers from five to eight. It may be pointed out that

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Arts. 7 and 8.

whereas the Constitutions of the United States of America and of Brazil stipulate that the number of representatives shall not exceed a certain ratio, the Constitution of Argentina determined the exact ratio and necessitated either a steady increase in the size of the chamber with the growth in population, or a constitutional amendment to reduce the ratio. For that reason, the amendment of 1898 authorized the Congress thereafter to fix the ratio of representation after each census, provided it were not less than 33,000 inhabitants for every representative. In accordance with this power the Congress in 1919 fixed the ratio at one representative for every 49,000 inhabitants.

Citizenship and the Suffrage. Unlike the Constitution of Brazil and that of other Latin-American states in general, the Constitution of the Argentine Nation does not itself determine who are citizens and who shall have the right to vote for members of the lower house of Congress and for the presidential electors. It is true that the Constitution declares that Congress shall base its laws as to citizenship on the basis of citizenship by nativity[1] and that aliens may obtain naturalization by two consecutive years of residence in the republic,[2] but otherwise the determination of these matters is left to the Congress. Likewise, the Constitution declares that national representatives shall be chosen by direct election of the people[3] as also the presidential election,[4] but the qualifications for suffrage are fixed by the Congress. Adult manhood suffrage after the age of seventeen, without any property or educational qualifications has been made the basis of the franchise, but until 1911 voting was oral. The principle at least of the secret ballot has now been adopted.

The Organization of the Federal Government

The Argentine Constitution embodies the doctrine of the separation of powers as developed in its prototype, the Constitution of the United States of America. This is done, moreover,

[1] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Art. 67, Par. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 37, as amended on March 15, 1898.
[4] *Ibid.*, Art. 81.

in the same manner as in our own Constitution by vesting the legislative power in a Congress, the executive power in a President, and the judicial power in a supreme court and inferior courts. There is no special distributive article, such as was noted in the Constitution of Brazil or as is commonly found in the state constitutions of this country.

The Legislative Power. The Argentine legislature is a bicameral body organized along lines closely analogous to those followed in the organization of our own Congress. One of the chambers is called the Chamber of Deputies of the Nation, the other the Senate. The Chamber of Deputies consists of members elected by direct popular vote and a simple plurality in the fourteen provinces and the federal district, according to population, the total number being increased in 1919 from 120 to 158. It will be noted that in Argentina as in Brazil the federal capital, though under the control of the federal government, is represented in the National Congress on a basis of equality with the states of the Union, whereas in the United States the District of Columbia is excluded from representation in either house of Congress and from participation in the election of the President. Another point of difference to be noted here is that whereas in the United States the suffrage for national representatives is left to the determination of the states,[1] in Argentina that matter is intrusted by the Constitution to national legislation.

The qualifications for serving as Deputy include twenty-five years of age, citizenship for four years, and nativity in the province or a residence for two years immediately preceding. The term of Deputies is four years, with the possibility of re-election, but the lower house is renewed by halves every two years, instead of being completely renewed at each election as in the United States.

The Chamber of Deputies enjoys special powers in that all laws relating to taxes and the recruiting of troops must initiate in that chamber, and in the right to impeach before the Senate

[1] Subject, of course, to the limitations contained in Art. 8, Sec. 2, and in Amendments XIV, XV, and XIX.

the President, the Vice-President, the members of the cabinet, the justices of the Supreme Court, and the judges of other national tribunals, for malfeasance in office or for other crimes and misdemeanors, upon a two-thirds vote of those members present.

The Senate is made up, as in the United States and in Brazil, on the principle of equal representation of the states. There are two Senators from each of the fourteen provinces and two from the federal district of Buenos Aires. The Senators from the provinces are chosen, as they formerly were in the United States, by the local legislatures. The two Senators from the capital are chosen by a special electoral college. As in the United States, moreover, each Senator casts his individual vote, so that the vote of a state in the Senate may be divided, notwithstanding that the Senators were supposed to represent the states as such. The qualifications for Senator are thirty years of age, citizenship in the nation for six years, nativity in the province from which he is chosen or a residence of two years immediately preceding the election, and an annual income of two thousand gold pesos. The term of office is nine years, with indefinite re-eligibility, one-third being renewed every three years. In the manner of choosing the Senators, in the representation of the federal district, in the income qualification, and in the term of office, therefore, the Argentine Constitution shows variations from our own.

The Argentine Senate, like our own, is provided by the Constitution with a presiding officer in the person of the Vice-President of the nation. Like our Senate, moreover, it enjoys some special powers in addition to its participation in the legislative process. It tries the officials impeached by the Chamber of Deputies; it shares in the appointing power of the President of federal judgeships, to diplomatic posts, and to superior posts in the army and navy; it nominates a triple list from which the President appoints the bishops for each diocese; and it approves, in case of foreign aggression, the declaration of a state of siege. But the Argentine Senate does not share in the same manner as our own in the treaty-making power, which is enjoyed by the President, subject to approval by the Congress.

The method of organization and functioning of the two chambers in the legislative process is very similar in Argentina to the provisions of our own Constitution on those matters. Members of religious orders are excluded from membership in Congress, as are also the provincial governors. The salaries of members of Congress are fixed by law and paid out of the national treasury.[1] The Constitution fixes the legislative period for ordinary sessions for the period from May 1st to September 30th of each year, but gives the President power to prorogue the sessions or to call extra sessions. The chambers must sit simultaneously, can pass on the elections and rights of their own members, can discipline or expel their own members, and determine their own rules of procedure. The members of Congress enjoy the customary legislative immunities from arrest and from prosecution for opinions expressed in the discharge of their duties. No member of Congress may accept from the Executive any appointment to office without the consent of the chamber to which he belongs. Each chamber has the power to summon the members of the cabinet to appear in person to give oral information when requested.

Bills may be introduced in either chamber (save those relating to taxation and the recruiting of troops which must originate in the Chamber of Deputies) by any member or by the Executive, and when passed are then sent to the other chamber for consideration. If approved there, they are sent to the President for approval and promulgation. If he fails to return a bill with objections within ten days, it is considered approved. The rejection *in toto* by one chamber of a bill passed in the other prevents its reintroduction in the same year. Amendments made by one chamber to a bill sent to it from the other will become effective if approved by ordinary majority vote of the chamber in which the bill originated. If the amendments are not so approved, the chamber which made the amendments may insist upon them by a vote of two-thirds of its members, which amendments can then be rejected by the other chamber only by a vote of two-thirds of

[1] The salary at present is 18,000 pesos, the equivalent of about $7,500.

the members present. A bill passed by both chambers and returned within ten days by the President with his objections may be passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote in both chambers. In that case the names of the members voting, together with a statement of the reasons for their votes, as well as the objections, shall be published. A vetoed bill failing to receive the requisite majority shall not again be introduced in the same session.

The Executive Power. The executive power is vested in the President of the Argentine Nation. In Brazil the system of direct election of the President was adopted, but in Argentina our own scheme of an electoral college is followed. This is made up of special electors, chosen in each province and in the federal district by direct vote, equal in number to twice the number of Deputies and Senators to which the state is entitled in Congress.[1] The votes are cast in the respective capitals for President and Vice-President and are sent to the Congress to be counted. An absolute majority of electoral votes is required to elect, otherwise the Congress chooses from among the two highest candidates. The procedure is prescribed in more detail in the Argentine Constitution than in our own, but follows much the same lines.

The President and Vice-President must be native Argentines, must belong to the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, must be thirty years of age, and possess an annual income of two thousand pesos. They hold office for six years and are ineligible for re-election until after an intermission of an equal period. The salaries of the President and Vice-President are fixed by Congress, but may not be altered during their incumbency.[2]

In case of illness, absence from the capital, death, resignation, or removal of the President, the Vice-President succeeds to the

[1] In the United States, it will be recalled, the electoral vote of each state is equal to the number of Representatives and Senators.

[2] The President receives a salary of 96,000 pesos (a peso=$0.42) with 28,800 pesos for official expenses. The Vice-President receives 36,000 pesos salary and 24,000 pesos for official expenses. *The Statesman's Year Book,* 1922.

office. In case of removal, death, resignation, or inability of both President and Vice-President, the Congress determines what officer shall then act as President, until the disability is removed or a new President elected. The order of succession has been fixed by Congress as follows: president pro tem of the Senate, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and chief justice of the Supreme Court. If the disability of both President and Vice-President is permanent, the successor in office shall order a new election for both offices within thirty days after his installation in office. As in the United States of America and in the United States of Brazil, so in Argentina the Constitution fails to state who shall be judge of the existence of a disability requiring a succession in the office. Removal of the President occurs by the process of impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies, and conviction by the Senate under the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as presiding officer, by a two-thirds vote of those present. The resignation of the President or Vice-President requires the acceptance of the Congress to become effective. Furthermore, the President may not leave the national capital without the permission of the Congress if the latter is in session, and otherwise only if some grave necessity of the public service requires it.

The powers of the President of the Argentine Nation are modeled in the Constitution closely after those of the President of the United States. In some respects, however, his powers are greater there than here. Chief among these additional powers is the power of executive ordinance or decree in execution of the laws of the nation. As was pointed out in connection with a similar provision in Brazil, this power of executive ordinance is characteristic of European executives, notably in France, and is not intrusted to our own President by the Constitution. It gives the President an important share in legislation as well as administration, in spite of the limitation that the spirit of the laws be not changed nor their scope limited by exceptions, through such regulations.

The President's share in legislation is enlarged, furthermore, by the express power accorded to the Executive to introduce

measures in Congress, a power which is not accorded to the President of the United States. His appointing power extends to all military, judicial, and civil posts in the service of the nation and the concurrence of the Senate is required only for appointments to diplomatic posts, to the higher offices in the army and navy, and to federal judgeships. In these instances, however, the Senate shares in both the appointing and removal power, differing therein from the situation in the United States. The President enjoys also the power to declare a state of siege in any point in the republic, involving the suspension of the constitutional guarantees, in case the Congress is not in session and the public safety is threatened. Another attribute of the European as distinguished from the American executive is found in the power of the President of Argentina to prorogue the Congress when meeting in ordinary session.

Not only is the Argentine President granted more powers by the Constitution than is the case in the United States, but in actual practice he occupies a much more dominant position there than here. The abnormal position of domination by the President over Congress which has occurred but rarely in the history of the United States would seem to be the normal and usual one in Argentina. In the words of an Argentine statesman and publicist, the Congress in Argentina, like the constitutional monarch in England reigns but does not govern. It is the President who governs and the function of the Congress is in practice limited to supplementing the action of the Executive in the formulation of the laws. The Congress has a place in the government in slowing up the Executive, in furnishing the opportunity for reflection, and in insuring public debate at the proper time. But it is rare that the Congress seriously alters the proposals of the Executive or otherwise hampers his action.[1] We see, therefore, in Argentina true presidential rather than congressional government.

The President is assisted by and acts through eight Ministers appointed and removed by him. Every act of the President

[1] Matienzo, *op. cit.*, page 187.

must be countersigned by the Minister within whose province the matter falls, and without such signature such acts have no legal validity. This feature of the administration, noted also in the case of Brazil, is modeled along European rather than North American lines, for in Europe generally the acts of the Executive become the acts of the Ministers who countersign them, whereas in the United States the President acts on his sole authority and the acts of the Secretaries within their respective spheres are imputed to him. The Constitution of Argentina follows the European model still further in making each Minister responsible individually for the acts signed by him, and jointly and severally for all acts concurred in by them all. But this form of responsibility is a legal and not a political responsibility. That is to say, the Ministers are subject to impeachment by the Congress for illegal or unconstitutional acts approved by them, as they were in England prior to the development of parliamentary government, but are not politically responsible for acts with which the Congress may disagree, as in the case to-day in England, France, and other countries operating under the so-called parliamentary form. In actual practice this legal responsibility of the Ministers to the Congress in Argentina —and the same situation exists in Brazil—gives the legislative branch of the government no more effective control over the executive than does the power of impeaching the President himself in the United States. At most it creates a situation similar to the one out of which parliamentary government developed in England, although in the latter case its significance lay in the fact that it marked a stage in the successful assaults by the representative body upon the royal prerogative, whereas in Argentina it was a feature combined in the same Constitution with the provisions establishing a powerful elective Executive.

The Ministers must submit to each session of the Congress a written report on the status of their respective departments, and may be summoned to appear before the Congress at any time for oral reports. On the other hand, they are expressly

authorized to attend the sessions of Congress and take part in the debates, but they have no vote. They are, indeed, expressly prohibited from being members of either chamber while they hold a cabinet position. Their salary[1] is fixed by Congress, but may not be increased or diminished during the incumbency of any Minister. Congress is authorized to determine the jurisdiction of each department[2] and has designated the eight Ministries as follows: Interior; Foreign Relations and Worship; Treasury; Justice and Public Instruction; War; Navy; Public Works; Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.

The Judicial Power. The extent of the federal judicial power has already been considered under the discussion of the federal features of the government.[3] Its organization is indicated in the Constitution[4] as comprising a supreme court of justice and such inferior tribunals as the Congress may establish. All federal judges are appointed by the President with the concurrence of the Senate and hold office during good behavior. Only lawyers of eight years' practice in the federal courts, thirty years of age, citizens of six years' standing and possessing an income of two thousand pesos a year are eligible for a seat on the supreme bench. The Supreme Court consists of five members, besides which there are five courts of appeal, and courts of first instance in each province and federal territory. Trial by jury, though demanded by the Constitution, has not been established.

Finances and Functions of the Federal Government. The monetary unit established by the federal government is the gold peso equal in value to $0.965 United States gold. This is the unit adopted in financial transactions and government reports unless otherwise stated. There is also a paper peso used in ordinary trade and commercial transactions, the value of which is fixed by law at 44 per cent of the gold peso, or the equivalent of about 43 cents in U. S. money. The external national debt

[1] 39,600 pesos per annum (about $16,000).
[2] Amendment adopted March 15, 1898.
[3] Cf., *ante* page 176.
[4] Constitution of the Argentine Nation, Arts. 94-99.

amounted at the end of 1919 to 625,062,882 paper pesos and the internal debt to 660,183,109 paper pesos.[1] The charges on the treasury on account of this debt constitute the biggest single class of expenditures and consume more than a quarter of the annual revenues. The principal source of income is the customs duties, which furnish nearly a fourth of the total revenues. Internal taxes, the income tax, and stamp taxes contribute in that order the next largest amounts in revenue, the total amounts of which were estimated in the budget of 1920 at 459,574,694 paper pesos.

Military service is required by the Constitution of every Argentine citizen and the military service law puts all citizens between twenty and forty-five years of age in the national militia, during the first ten years of which time they are in the active army. The total peace establishment of the army is about 20,000 officers and men, the reserve numbering about 300,000 men. The military budget for 1920 was estimated at about 36,000,000 paper pesos. The navy comprises two dreadnoughts, two predreadnoughts, half a dozen old cruisers, seven destroyers, and a number of other small auxiliary craft. The personnel of the navy comprises from 5,000 to 6,000 men, most of whom are conscripts. The naval budget for 1920 was 31,000,000 paper pesos.

Education is supported to a large extent by the federal government, which maintains[2] four national universities, eighty-two normal schools, and forty-two secondary schools, besides a large number of special schools, such as industrial schools, commercial schools, and schools of agriculture. In addition, the federal government subsidizes the elementary schools in the provinces and supervises them through the National Council of Education. Primary education is free, secular, and compulsory for children from six to fourteen years of age. About two-thirds of the population of school age were enrolled in the schools in 1915. The total expenditures of the federal

[1] *The Statesman's Year Book*, 1922.
[2] In 1920.

government for education in 1920 amounted to over 71,000,000 paper pesos, or about one-seventh of the total national budget, and more than for any other one department of the national government with the exception of the Department of Finance. Public education is making rapid strides in Argentina, particularly of late years, though in 1915 there was still over a third of the population above seven years of age illiterate.

The Department of the Interior has charge of the post office, the national telegraph lines (comprising about half of the telegraph mileage in the country), and the police and fire service in the federal district and the national territories. There are ten of these national territories, under the direction of governors appointed by the President.

The national railways, totaling, in 1921, 3,816 miles out of a total mileage of 22,590, are operated by the Department of Public Works, which department exercises also supervision over the private lines.

The federal district is governed by a mayor appointed by the President and a council chosen by the tax-paying inhabitants of the city.

Political Conditions

Political issues, as has already been pointed out, centered for many years in Argentina around the question of centralization versus federation. Since the definite triumph of the federal principle it can scarcely be said that there have been any continuing issues on which people have been consistently divided, and to which political parties have consistently been committed. As has already been mentioned, the formation of political parties along clerical and anticlerical lines, which has characterized the politics of so many of the Latin-American states, has not occurred in Argentina. There are, indeed, political parties with a greater or less degree of organization and effectiveness, but the testimony of nearly all observers, foreign and native, agrees in that the differences are largely based on personalities rather than on issues, and the chief personality by all odds is the President. Political groups, therefore, consist primarily of people who are

united in their support of a particular person for the office of President and the influence of the incumbent and his supporters on the selection of his successor is admittedly tremendous, and not infrequently decisive. Of late years there has been in Argentina an alarming growth of anarchistic propaganda, particularly active among the Italian and Spanish laborers. Labor strikes have consequently not infrequently had the aspect of anarchist movements, which have demanded extreme measures on the part of the government for their suppression.

Though the franchise is extremely broad, a considerable proportion of the voting population is ignorant if not wholly illiterate, which is in itself a menace to real democracy, while the absence of any considerable middle class and the political apathy of those who in other countries constitute a balance between the radical masses and the conservative wealthy classes tends to result either in instability or a practical oligarchy. As a matter of fact, the government is largely in the hands of professional lawyer-politicians identified closely with the landholding families, and until recently there has been little control by a widespread citizen interest or an articulate public opinion. If we may believe the criticisms of an Argentine publicist, himself with practical experience in politics, government positions are looked upon as personal perquisites rather than as opportunities for service, and this attitude with all its resultant evils is not generally condemned by public opinion.

In spite of these obvious weaknesses in the system of Argentine politics, unfortunately duplicated in other countries that claim higher standards, there have not been lacking in the public posts, from the President and ministers down, many men of unquestioned integrity and of outstanding ability, who compare favorably with the prominent men in the government of other states not part of the family of Latin-American countries, and there is encouraging evidence that conditions are steadily improving. With the continued spread of popular education, an increasing awakening of public and private conscience in regard to governmental affairs, and a greater interest in social and

economic problems as distinct from the issue of personalities, there is every indication that the course of public affairs in Argentina will be influenced by the same factors and conducted on the same principles as in other countries that have had a longer time in which and a more propitious foundation on which to develop their political institutions.

The Governments of the Provinces

While the fourteen individual provinces or states enjoy under the federal Constitution the right to frame and amend their own constitutions, subject to the principles laid down in the former guaranteeing a republican form of government, they have all followed practically the same lines. In all but one of them the legislatures, though at first unicameral, now comprise two chambers popularly elected. The senate is small and the chamber of deputies is usually twice as large as the senate. The term of senators—from three to six years—is longer than that of the deputies—from two to four years—but in all cases the chambers are constituted on the principle of overlapping terms. The opposition party is always small and frequently nonexistent, in spite of provisions for minority and proportional representation.

Much more important than the provincial legislatures, though by constitutional theory co-ordinate with them, are the provincial governors. Originally these governors were in practically all cases elected by the legislatures, but to-day they are chosen by an electoral college on the model of the election of the President, except in the province of San Juan, where the governor is chosen by direct election. The constitutional powers of the governors are very considerable, being modeled on those of the national President, and are much greater than those of the governors of the states in our own country, as they are the real heads of the administration. But their actual powers are even greater, since they direct and control the politics of the provinces. They determine in large part the candidacies for every elective office within the power of the province electorate, including the electors for governor and for President. They are

the political bosses of their provinces, therefore, and figure in the presidential elections themselves. On the other hand, after the President has been elected they function, as has been seen, as the political agents of the former in all matters affecting national politics, and have to fear the danger of federal intervention if they undertake to antagonize him.

Finally, each province has its own complete set of courts, the judges of which are appointed for terms of varying length. According to the opinion of Dr. Matienzo, the provincial courts are distinctly inferior in caliber to the federal courts and do not altogether escape the domination exercised by the administration.

Local government is determined by the constitution and laws of each province, and consists usually of departments and districts under the direction of a centrally appointed administrative official and municipalities, possessing a representative council but controlled by an executive appointed by the governor.

The provinces vary greatly in area, population, and wealth,[1] and correspondingly in the extent of their governmental functions. The poorer provinces have had to be helped by national subsidies in the performance of even the simplest elementary functions, while others have developed extensive public works and perfected the system of public education, even to the point of establishing provincial universities. The practice of some of the provinces in contracting foreign loans in aid of their finances, and their failure in some cases to meet their obligations, have been a disturbing factor in affecting the credit of the national government, though the latter was not chargeable with responsibility in the matter.

Summary Table of Economic Conditions

Commerce. The total foreign commerce in 1918 was estimated at a value of 1,302,069,240 gold pesos; imports amounted to 500,602,000 and exports to 801,466,000 pesos.

[1] Buenos Aires, which does not include the capital of the same name, is the largest, having an area of 117,777 square miles and a population in 1918 of 2,190,902, while Jujuy the smallest has an area of 14,802 square miles and a population in 1918 of but 78,335. *Statesman's Year Book,* 1922.

Chief Exports in 1918:	Value in Pesos
Live animals and meat products	500,924,315
Farming products	259,216,131
Forest products	15,429,392
Mining products	1,559,131
Hunting and fishing	1,448,978
Miscellaneous	22,888,541

The Chief Countries of Destination in 1918 were:

United Kingdom	38.2%
United States	20.6%
France	14.1%
Italy	5.0%
Brazil	4.2%
All Others	17.9%

Chief Imports in 1918:

Textiles and manufactures of textiles; food products; iron and steel, and manufactures thereof; railway supplies; agricultural implements; electrical apparatus; glass and chinaware; chemicals, building materials; and coal.

In the countries of origin of exports the United States led (33.9%), followed by the United Kingdom (25%), Brazil (9.9%), Spain (8.3%).

For January, 1921, there were in operation 22,590 miles of railway, which placed Argentina ninth among the countries of the world in railway mileage. Of these 22,578 miles about 4000 miles belong to the state. The length of the telegraph lines in 1919 was 52,800 miles, about half of which belonged to the federal government. Wireless telegraphy has been developed rapidly with more than a score of stations in regular operation. The principal rivers of Argentina, the Uruguay, the Paraná, and the Paraguay, afford many hundreds of miles of navigable waterways, part of them to ocean-going vessels of deep draught.

Products and Industry. Argentina is almost wholly an agricultural and cattle-raising country. About a third of the territory

is arable, but only about a third of this has been put under cultivation. About a third of the country is suitable for grazing. Of the agricultural products, wheat comes first with corn, oats, and alfalfa following in order. Dairy products and prepared meats are among the principal articles of industry. The lack of coal in Argentina constitutes a serious handicap to the development of manufacturing in general.

CHAPTER VI

CHILE

1. The Historical Development of Chile

Characteristics of Chilean History Since the War of Independence. In a number of respects the history of the Republic of Chile presents a contrast to that of the remaining Spanish-American states. The period of military dictatorships, one of the fatal legacies of the War of Independence, was of brief duration. No other Spanish-American country has been so free from revolutions; in no other has political evolution been so peaceful and orderly. To an extent unknown elsewhere in the New World Chile has been governed—at least until recent times—by a close aristocracy of birth and wealth. Yet this concentration of power has not prevented the growth of a healthy political life, and to an unusual degree the great political parties have represented ideals rather than personalities. Finally is to be noted the growth of a parliamentary system developed to an extent elsewhere unknown among American democracies.

The causes of this unique development of Chilean nationality are not far to seek. Almost from the founding of Chile the interests of the colonists were predominantly agricultural. There were no great silver or gold mines as in Peru or New Granada, to attract a horde of adventurers intent only on amassing wealth and eager to return to Spain. From the thrifty, hard-working agriculturists, willing definitely to throw in their lot with the New World, there developed toward the end of the colonial period a powerful and homogeneous landed aristocracy similar in certain respects to the Whig aristocracy in England in the eighteenth century.

Moreover, the peculiar geography of Chile directly made for

a closely knit, unified type of society. From the first the thickly settled portion of the country consisted of a long, narrow, fertile valley, with no natural obstacles to hinder easy communication. This was in marked contrast to countries like Argentina and Colombia with their widely distant provinces, each with its ambitions for local autonomy. Nor should it be forgotten that the temperate climate of central Chile was favorable to the growth of a hardy and industrious population.

The Dictatorship of O'Higgins. It could hardly be expected that Chile should entirely escape the period of anarchy which throughout Spanish America immediately succeeded the winning of independence. Fortunately, in the crucial years following the defeat of the royalists at Maipú (1818), the guidance of public affairs was in the hands of the ablest and most intelligent man in the nation, Don Bernardo O'Higgins. Convinced that the Chilean people were not yet ripe for self-government, O'Higgins concentrated practically all power in himself. If in political matters he was autocratic, he was tireless in his efforts to awaken the Chileans from the lethargy of colonial days. Recognizing that popular education must perforce constitute the basis of popular government, he was active in reviving old institutions of learning and in creating new ones. The Instituto Nacional was reopened; the Public Library was established at Santiago. A number of the so-called Lancastrian schools, under the personal direction of the Englishman, James Thompson, were founded. Other reforms put through by O'Higgins included the abolition of bullfights and cockfights, the suppression of titles of nobility, the prohibition of the sale of public offices.

The dictatorship of O'Higgins soon aroused opposition. The Liberals regarded him as a tyrant; many were alienated by his reforms, for which perhaps the country was not yet ripe; his fiscal measures were the cause of great discontent. In 1823 he was overthrown by a revolution and retired to Peru, bemoaning the ingratitude of republics.

The Definite Organization of the Republic. A period of disorder now followed. The so-called Liberals, who favored a

democratic *régime* with large grants of local autonomy, assumed the reins of power. They soon revealed themselves as doctrinaires incapable of creating a strong government or even of maintaining order. As the end of the decade approached, conditions became intolerable. A revolt launched by General Joaquín Prieto in 1829, and supported by the conservative elements of the country, led in the following year to the overwhelming defeat of the Liberals at the battle of Lircay. For the next thirty years the Conservatives almost completely controlled the destinies of Chile.

Until his death in 1837 the undisputed leadership of the conservatives was held by Diego Portáles, regarded by many as the greatest statesman then living in Chile. Portáles was a shrewd, hard-headed business man, with a keen instinct for practical politics. When in 1831 General Prieto was elected President, Portáles, to whom were assigned several portfolios in the cabinet, completely overshadowed the executive. It was largely through his efforts that there was drafted in 1833 the Constitution, under which with certain modifications Chile is still governed. A detailed analysis of this remarkable document will be found later in the present chapter. It is sufficient to note at this point that it was—and remains—the most centralized and aristocratic of all of the American constitutions, and was designed to invest the Executive with almost dictatorial powers. It was admirably fitted to secure a long tenure of power to the Conservatives, whose members, recruited largely from the great landowners, represented the wealth, the social prestige, and to a considerable extent the intelligence of Chile. Whatever the shortcomings of the Constitution of 1833, it can hardly be denied that it has been instrumental in giving Chile one of the strongest and most stable governments in all Latin America.

The Rule of the Conservatives. "La República Autocrática" (1831-1861). The thirty years' tenure of power of the Conservative party was characterized by a strong and vigorous administration, with authority concentrated in the hands of a small group representing the dominant landed aristocracy. Such a *régime,*

in which the people as a whole had little or no share, was justified on the grounds that it afforded the Chileans an era of almost unbroken peace, promoted the prosperity and cultural progress of the nation, and paved the way for the eventual triumph of democratic principles. Three Conservative Presidents held office for two terms of five years each. Under Prieto (1831-1841) Chile became the dominant power on the Pacific coast of South America, by defeating in 1839 the Bolivian dictator Santa Cruz, thus shattering his plans for a great Peruvian-Bolivian confederation. The administration of General Manuel Búlnes (1841-1851), the hero of the war against Santa Cruz, was signalized by a striking advance in the economic progress of the country. Foreign commerce received an enormous impetus through the establishment of steam navigation on the Pacific as early as 1840, thanks to the enterprise and perseverance of a United States citizen, William Wheelwright. A beginning was made in the exploitation of the rich Chilean coal deposits through the opening up of mines near Talcuahano. Foreign credit was improved through the total extinction of the English debt contracted in 1822. Commercial transactions were facilitated by the adoption in 1848 of the decimal system in place of the Spanish system of weights and measures.

The forties also witnessed significant progress in the domains of education and literature. The impetus first came from abroad. In 1829 the Venezuelan scholar Andrés Bello settled in Chile and in a short time became the foremost literary authority in Spanish America. When in 1842 the University of Chile was founded at Santiago, Bello was appointed rector. The same year saw the opening of the first normal school in Chile. As director was chosen another foreigner, the Argentine, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who had sought asylum in Chile to escape the blighting tyranny of Rosas. Not the least of the services rendered by these distinguished foreigners was to arouse the spirit of emulation among the Chileans themselves.

The last years of Búlnes's administration witnessed a regrouping of political parties, in which the hitherto undisputed authority

of the Conservatives was seriously challenged. It will be recalled that the anarchy and political sterility of the late twenties had discredited the old Liberal party, which practically disappeared from the scene with the advent of Prieto and Portáles and the promulgation of the Constitution of 1833. But during the ensuing decade and a half of internal peace a new Chile had grown up. The oppressive rule of the Conservative oligarchy had become increasingly irksome, and this dissatisfaction found expression in the emergence of a new Liberal party, all the more formidable since it aimed not at dictatorship, military government, or a doctrinaire federalism, but inscribed on its banners a whole series of administrative reforms of which the most important were the curtailment of the authority of the executive, freedom of the press, and the enlargement of the basis of suffrage. The protagonists of the new party were young men who had to a certain extent fallen under the spell of the French Revolution of 1848 and had succumbed to the eloquence of Lamartine as revealed in his famous History of the Girondists.

The new Liberal party, though firmly entrenched in Congress, was not sufficiently strong to secure the election of Búlnes's successor. Manuel Montt was the last of the great Conservative Presidents. Partly because of his achievements as a statesman and administrator, partly because his incumbency synchronized with an era of great educational and economic progress, the ten years from 1851 to 1861 have frequently been characterized as "El Decenio de Montt."

From the very beginning of Montt's administration the government lent its ungrudging support to every movement making for the economic or educational advance of the country. Especial attention was devoted to the prosecution of a number of important public works. The railroad between Valparaiso and Santiago, thanks to the combined efforts of the government and a group of capitalists headed by Wheelwright, was pushed forward as far as Quillota. Telegraphic communications were opened up between the capital and the chief cities of central and southern Chile. Regular banking establishments, including a land-mort-

gage bank, were founded at this same period. After much agitation the right of primogeniture was legally abolished. This reform was not only in line with social justice, but also tended directly to the subdivision of the great landed estates, which in some cases constituted veritable latifundia.

During the incumbency of Montt the country made notable educational progress. The number of primary schools rose from some 500 to 900, in which 45,000 boys and girls received instruction. The number of secondary schools or *colegios* was increased to ten. Foreign scholars were invited to Chile and lent a powerful impetus to the development of higher education. A reform of immense importance was the adoption in 1855 of a national law code, chiefly the work of Andrés Bello.

The Presidency of Pérez (1861-1871). "La República Liberal." Chilean historians are wont to speak of the election of Pérez as inaugurating a new period in the political and social history of Chile. The old Conservative party, which had given three Presidents to the country, was partially ousted from power. Its decline in influence was due in part to the gradual shifting of power from the landed aristocracy to the cities. Thanks to the rapid expansion of foreign trade and development of Chile's natural resources, great fortunes had been made from commerce and business. Santiago now had a population of 100,000, Valparaiso, 60,000. As a result of the advance in education during the previous quarter century a generation had grown up with new ideas, new aspirations, and a growing impatience with many of the hampering restrictions of colonial days. The power of the old agrarian aristocracy was being challenged by that of a new aristocracy of wealth and learning. While freely conceding the immense services which the Conservative party and the landed gentry had rendered in the formative period of the republic, the Liberals felt that the time was ripe for the transformation of the existing autocratic *régime* into a more truly democratic and representative government.

President José Joaquín Pérez, who to a certain extent shared these views, held office for two terms. Of the political reforms

sponsored by the Liberals the most important was an amendment to the Constitution adopted in 1871, forbidding the re-election of the President immediately following his constitutional term of five years. The prosperity of the country continued its forward march. In 1863 the railroad between Santiago and Valparaiso was completed and a beginning was made on other lines extending up and down the central valley and inland from a number of coast towns. Telegraph communications were improved and new highways were built. Chilean capital began to find its way into Peru and Bolivia for investment in the profitable guano trade; a few years later Chilean enterprise was to seek a profitable outlet in the nitrate fields. European colonization was encouraged and the German immigration into southern Chile, whose commencement goes back to the late forties, proceeded apace. The Indians of Araucania were definitely subdued during this period and their territory incorporated into the national domain.

This internal progress was interrupted in 1865 by the outbreak of a war with Spain. This struggle, one of the most useless and unnecessary recorded in the annals of American history, had as its origin a dispute between Peru and her former mother country. With quixotic unwillingness to admit the loss of what was once her most prosperous colony, Spain had refused to recognize the independence of Peru and pretended to regard her relations with that republic as merely a truce. In 1865, on the slenderest of pretexts and with the evident desire to fasten a quarrel on Peru, a Spanish naval force proceeded to seize the Chincha islands, containing some of Peru's most valuable guano deposits. Although Chile was not a party to this quarrel, she identified her cause with that of Peru, partly on the grounds of Spanish-American solidarity. Spain retaliated in 1866 by ordering her fleet to bombard the defenseless port of Valparaiso. The losses resulting from this stupid piece of vandalism fell most heavily upon foreign shipping and commercial interests. After being worsted in an attack on the Peruvian port of Callao, the Spanish fleet returned to European waters.

The Administrations of Errázuriz (1871-1876) and Pinto

(1876-1881). Progress of Liberalism. The War of the Pacific. Both Errázuriz and Pinto were Liberals and during this period a number of political and religious reforms were accomplished. The Chamber of Deputies acquired the right of selecting a majority of the "Comisión Conservadora," which represented Congress when that body was not in session. The composition of the Council of State was also modified by the inclusion of a sufficient number of representatives of both chambers to constitute a majority; hitherto they had been exclusively chosen by the President. Under Errázuriz a beginning was made toward divesting the Church of certain exclusive privileges and prerogatives it had enjoyed since colonial days.

This progress of liberalism was interrupted during the latter part of Pinto's administration by the outbreak of the War of the Pacific. A brief account of the causes and chief episodes of this struggle is given in the chapter of the text devoted to Peru and Bolivia. As is well known, the war resulted in a complete and spectacular triumph of Chile. This victory was due not only to the military and naval preponderance enjoyed by the Chileans, but also to the superior organization and efficiency of the Chilean government and the greater unity of the Chilean people. By the terms of the Treaty of Ancón (1883) Peru unconditionally ceded to Chile the province of Tarapacá and granted the occupation of the provinces of Tacna and Arica for a period of ten years. At the expiration of that time a plebiscite was to determine to which of the two countries these provinces were definitely to belong; should the vote be in favor of Peru she was to pay Chile ten million dollars. As is well known, this plebiscite has never been held, owing to the difficulty of determining which of the inhabitants are entitled to vote. A truce signed with Bolivia in 1884 provided for the cession of all of the Bolivian littoral, including the province of Antofagasta, to Chile, leaving a definite settlement to some future date.

The Presidency of Santa María (1881-1886). Revival of the Clerical Question. The successor to Pinto was Domingo Santa María, a Liberal, who during the most critical period of the war

against Peru and Bolivia had held the post of minister of foreign affairs. The conclusion of the war cleared the ground for the further prosecution of the political and religious reforms initiated under Errázuriz and Pinto. In 1884 an amendment to the Constitution was adopted which permitted a two-thirds majority of the chambers to pass legislation over the veto of the Executive. On the following year all property qualifications were removed from the right of suffrage, thus extending the privilege of voting to all literate male citizens. And as was to be expected under a President with the pronounced liberal tendencies of Santa María, the clerical question again came to the fore. Under Errázuriz a serious breach had been made in the bulwark of privileges and exclusive rights claimed by the Church. The clergy had been deprived of their special tribunals and cemeteries were open to non-Catholics subject to certain onerous restrictions. Under Santa María laws were passed providing for civil marriage, and the registration of births and deaths by employees of the state. Practically all restrictions regarding the use of cemeteries were removed. On the other hand, all efforts to effect a complete separation between church and state were defeated. The opposition aroused by these various measures, especially among the Conservatives, was so intense as to bring the country to the verge of armed revolution.

The Administration of Balmaceda and the Civil War of 1891. José Manuel Balmaceda was a pronounced Liberal and his first task upon assuming office in 1886 was to effect a reconciliation among the various Liberal groups which had been sadly disorganized during the last years of Santa María's term of office. For a time success seemed to crown his efforts. Apparently secure in the support of a majority of Congress, he embarked on the most ambitious and comprehensive program of public works thus far undertaken in Chile, utilizing for the purpose the abundant revenues derived from the export taxes on nitrate. While this policy was in many ways beneficial, unfortunately corruption appeared. Many of the contracts were awarded by favor and not by merit, and the progress made in the construction of the new

public works left much to be desired. Balmaceda's supporters began to fall away and by 1890 the opposition found itself in command of a majority in Congress.

The crux of the controversy between the President and Congress was the relation of the cabinet to the executive and parliament. During the previous two decades custom and usage had gradually decreed that a ministry should not remain in office unless supported by a majority of the chambers. But this prerogative of Congress, to which no reference is made in the Constitution of 1833, Balmaceda refused to admit. The congressional majority retaliated by threatening to refuse to vote the budget for the ensuing year. When finally Congress adjourned without passing the budget, according to constitutional usage Balmaceda should have summoned a special session. Instead, on January 1, 1891, he declared in a public manifesto that since Congress had been derelict in its duties the budget for 1890 would be considered the budget for 1891.

This act, clearly beyond the attributes of the Executive, precipitated the revolution which had long been brewing. The Congressional party—as Balmaceda's opponents called themselves—issued a proclamation appointing Captain Jorge Montt in command of the national fleet. The entire navy promptly went over to the revolutionists and, with the nitrate province of Tarapacá as their headquarters, the Congressionalists organized armed resistance against the President.

It would be a mistake to assume that Balmaceda's violation of the Constitution was the sole cause of the disastrous civil war which followed. Through his ambition and vanity he had alienated the sympathies of the still dominant oligarchy. In aristocratic circles he was regarded by many as an apostate, as "the high priest of Eleusis who had revealed to the common people the hidden rites of the sanctuary." The powerful clerical influence was also directed against him in consequence of his attacks on the extreme and exclusive rights of the Church.

The revolution of 1891, the most sanguinary civil war in the entire history of Chile, resulted in the triumph of the Congression-

alists, though not until ten thousand lives had been sacrificed. Just before the victorious insurgents entered Santiago, Balmaceda sought asylum in the Argentine legation. Here he remained until the last day of his term of office, when he committed suicide.

Chile Since 1891. "La Republica Democrática." The revolution of 1891 is an event of the first importance in the political and constitutional history of Chile. The presidential system now definitely made way for the parliamentary system, with the balance of power transferred from the Executive to Congress. Henceforth it was understood that no cabinet could remain in office which did not command the support of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies. Another point was also regarded as absolutely settled. Hereafter there should be no executive interference in the freedom of election. Partly in order to prevent the recurrence of such an abuse, which had been carried to great lengths under Santa María and Balmaceda, Congress passed in 1891 a bill which granted to the municipalities, in addition to large autonomy in local affairs, the right to supervise elections, both local and national.

From now on the executive plays a minor rôle in the political history of Chile.[1] The Presidents who have succeeded Balmaceda have all been men of ability and in some cases of great distinction, but their influence on the march of public events is hardly comparable to that of their precedessors. Largely on this account the center of interest in Chilean history—for the foreign student at least—tends to shift from question of internal politics to problems growing out of Chile's relations with foreign powers.

Most of these problems are discussed in other chapters of our text, and only the briefest mention will be accorded them here. In 1881 Chile became involved in a very serious diplomatic controversy with the United States due to an attack on a number of sailors of the U. S. S. Baltimore who had been given shore leave in Valparaiso. After an acrimonious inter-

[1] The list of Presidents following Balmaceda is as follows: Jorge Montt (1891–1896); Federico Errázuriz (1896–1901); German Riesco (1901–1906); Pedro Montt (1906-1911); Ramón Barros Luco (1911-1915); Juan Luis Sanfuentes (1915-1920); Arturo Alessandri (1920-1925).

change of correspondence, Chile apologized and paid a suitable indemnity. Friction with Argentina, growing out of a series of complicated boundary disputes, was happily allayed through the submission of the points at issue to arbitration (1889-1902). Chile has been less fortunate in her relations with her northern neighbors. The plebiscite in Tacna and Arica has not yet been held, and the tension between Chile and Peru at times has been so acute as to lead to the brink of war. For a time it was hoped that all outstanding difficulties with Bolivia had been settled by the treaty of 1905, according to which Bolivia abandoned all claims to the Pacific littoral on condition that Chile finance the construction of a railway from Arica to La Paz and grant Bolivia the right of free transit across Chilean territory. But certain elements in Bolivia have never been reconciled to the loss of an outlet to the Pacific, and the revision of the treaty of 1905 is at present one of the avowed aims of Bolivia's foreign policy.

Notwithstanding the absorption of much of the nation's energies in these foreign complications, the last thirty years have witnessed a tremendous increase in national wealth and prosperity; this despite the occasional setbacks such as the earthquake of 1906, which all but destroyed Valparaiso, and the Great War from whose effects Chile, though remaining neutral, was not immune. As landmarks in Chile's economic progress may be singled out the opening of the trans-Andine railway in 1910 and the completion of the longitudinal railway a few years later. Perhaps the most significant event in recent political history was the election in 1920 of Chile's first "middle-class president." As the exponent of the laboring and middle classes Sr. Arturo Alessandri was put forward as a candidate by the so-called Liberal Alliance, comprising the Radical and Democratic parties and a fraction of the Liberals. He was opposed by Sr. Barros Borgoño, who belonged to the dominant political oligarchy and was supported by the Conservatives and a large section of the Liberals. The electoral vote was so close as to be in dispute; normally in such cases, the decision would rest with Congress, but public opinion demanded that the whole matter be passed

upon by a special Court of Honor. This extra-legal body declared Alessandri elected as having received 177 valid votes against 176. The finding was accepted by Congress and greeted with enthusiasm throughout the country. The election was noteworthy, not only as an evidence of the political maturity of the Chilean people, but also because of the character of the successful candidate. Sr. Alessandri was the choice, not of a political oligarchy, but of the people as a whole; his election was rightly regarded as a triumph of democratic principles.

General Features of Chile

Geographically Chile is the most remarkable of Latin-American countries. Situated on the west coast of South America on a strip of land between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean, her territority extends 2661 miles north and south, from latitude 17° 57′ S. to 55° 59′ S., while its greatest width is only 248 miles, diminishing from that to less than 70 miles. Chile's length is, therefore, more than sixteen times her mean width. On the west, Chile is bounded by the Cordillera of the Andes, which separates her from Argentina, on the northwest by Bolivia, and on the north by Peru, while the Pacific Ocean on the west constitutes a coast line of nearly three thousand miles, forcing upon Chile the character of a maritime nation to a much greater degree than is the case with either Brazil or Argentina. This coast line lies between 70 and 76 degrees of west longitude, or, in other words, almost due south of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States from Maine to Cape Hatteras.

No less remarkable than its shape are the physical and climatic characteristics of the country. The northern portion of the republic is a hot barren desert, almost wholly devoid of vegetation, but containing the nitrate fields and other minerals which constitute a large part of the wealth of the country. The central portion of the country, about 700 miles in length, comprises the so-called Vale of Chile, lying between the Andes on the east and the coast range or Cordillera Marítima on the west, and about thirty miles in width. This is an extremely fertile region and

is the real Chile, for within this valley live the great majority of the inhabitants of the country. The southern portion of the country, extending from about 41 or 42 degrees of south latitude down to Tierra de Fuego is "an archipelago of wooded isles with a narrow strip of wooded mountain on the mainland behind, both of them drenched by perpetual rains and inhabited only by a few wandering Indians, with here and there a trading post of white men."[1] The total area of the country is 292,419 square miles,[2] of which only about one-eighth is arable, practically all of which portion is included within the central valley already noted.

Population. The population of Chile was estimated in 1918 at 3,952,475. This population is almost wholly pure white or part white and Indian. There are a very few aboriginal Indians left, the Fuegians in the extreme south, a remnant of the Araucanians (about 100,000), the fierce aborigines who so long disputed the southern advance of the Spaniards, and a few Changos in the northern coast regions. A considerable fusion of white and Indian blood has occurred among the lower classes in Chile, and the peasant class belongs largely to this mixed race, though considering itself white. Immigration from Europe, though encouraged by the government, has been very limited, and amounted in the decade from 1905 to 1914 to only 25,544. The increase in population is, therefore, very slow and in recent years the emigration has not infrequently exceeded the immigration. There is practically no admixture of negro blood to be found among the Chileans.

Constitution and Government

The written constitution under which the Republic of Chile is governed was promulgated on May 25, 1833, and is, therefore,

[1] Bryce, *South America,* page 206.

[2] This is the figure given by the *Encyclopedia of Latin America.* There is the usual uncertainty about the exact area found in most Latin-American countries due to the lack of complete and accurate surveys, if not indeed to uncertainty as to the exact location of boundary lines. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the area as 307,774 square miles, official computation; *The Statesman's Year Book* as 289,829; The *World Almanac* as 295,000; The official Statistical Abstract as 750,572 square kilometers, or 289,796 square miles.

the oldest of Latin-American constitutions now in operation. This instrument superseded the one promulgated in 1828, which in turn had replaced the instrument of 1818 prepared and put into force by the Supreme Director O'Higgins. The form of government established by the Constitution is that of a unitary republic, in contrast to the two countries so far considered, which adopted the federal type. At the time the movement for independence had its beginnings in South America, that is, in the years 1809 and 1810, the territory now forming part of Chile was a captaincy-general under the viceroyalty of Lima, but having had for two centuries its own *audiencia* or board of magistrates. The relatively small extent of the territory and the small Spanish population furnished no natural basis for adoption of the federal principle, though particularism and jealousies between the settlements were present here as in the provinces of la Plata, and for a time a struggle for the federal principle was carried on. But the Constitution of 1833 firmly established the principle of unitary government and abolished the provincial assemblies, the vestiges of federalism.

From this development in favor of a unitary rather than a federal state it follows that the external similarity between the Constitution of Chile and that of the United States of America is less pronounced than was seen to be the case in considering Brazil and Argentina. At the same time the United States of America was, during the period in which the Constitution of the Republic of Chile was taking form, the only example among the principal nations of the world of a presidential representative government, and its Constitution naturally furnished the most convenient model for the Convention of 1831 that was called to revise the former instrument. Nevertheless, as will presently appear, the variations introduced into the Chilean Constitution have served to differentiate to a marked degree the form of government in that country not merely from our own government but equally from that of the other Latin-American states which have adhered more closely to the written provisions at least of the United States Constitution.

Citizenship and the Suffrage. The Chilean Constitution adopts both the *jus loci* and the *jus sanguinis* as principles in determining citizenship by birth, for not only are all persons born in the national territory Chileans by birth, but also the children of Chileans born abroad while the father is engaged in the foreign service of the state, and also the children born abroad, either of whose parents are native Chileans whenever such children become domiciled in the republic. Citizenship by naturalization may be acquired after one year's residence in the country upon application to the municipality of residence, which communicates its favorable action to the President of the Republic who then issues the papers. The Congress may also confer citizenship by special act. Citizenship may be lost either through judicial sentence imposing infamous punishment, through fraudulent bankruptcy, through naturalization in a foreign country, or through acceptance of employment, office, or salary from a foreign government without special permission of Congress. In any of these cases of loss of citizenship, application may be made to the Senate for rehabilitation.

The right of suffrage, or active citizenship as it is called, is restricted to male citizens twenty-one years of age who can read and write and who are inscribed in the electoral register of the department. Furthermore, domestic servants are expressly excluded from active citizenship, along with those physically or mentally incapacitated and those accused of serious crimes. As the official census of 1907 showed that fifty-eight per cent of the male inhabitants were illiterate, and as the official estimates for 1918 showed that only about fifty-five per cent of the boys of scholastic age were receiving any schooling, it is apparent that the literacy requirement for voting if strictly enforced would restrict the number of those qualified to vote to less than half of the adult male population, which latter was enumerated in 1907 at 1,624,221, or almost exactly half of the total population.

Bill of Rights. In imitation of the French revolutionary constitutions and of our own state and federal constitutions, the fundamental law of Chile, like that of Latin-American states in

general, comprises a list of guarantees to the individual, enumerated in two chapters, entitled respectively *The Public Law of Chile,* and *Guarantees of Security and Property.*[1] Among the guarantees so enumerated may be mentioned equality before the law, abolition of class privileges; admission to all public employments on a basis of equality; equality of taxes and imposts; freedom of sojourn and of movement within and departure from the territory of the republic; the inviolability of property and the right to just compensation for property taken for a public purpose; the right of peaceable assembly; the right of free association; the right of petition; freedom of teaching; the liberty of the press; prohibition of slavery and of the slave trade; and the protection of the individual against arrest without warrant and against improper detention or trial except by the regular courts; the right of bail in arrests for less serious crimes; prohibition of torture and confiscation of property; protection against self-incrimination; the inviolability of the domicile and of private correspondence except as determined by law; prohibition of all taxes or exactions except as imposed by Congress or by its authority; freedom of industry and labor; and protection of patents and copyrights.

The Organization of the Government

The doctrine of the separation of powers is the basis on which the government of Chile, like that of the other Latin-American states, is organized, and this principle is given express recognition in the Constitution,[2] though as will be seen, not observed in practice.

The Legislative Power. In the organization of the legislature, which is called the National Congress, the bicameral principle has been followed in Chile as in most other Latin-American countries, and the customary designation of Chamber of Deputies and Senate was adopted.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of 118 members, or in the

[1] Chapters IV and IX.
[2] Arts. 11 and 99.

ratio of one for every 30,000 inhabitants or major fraction thereof, in the eighty-two departments which constitute the electoral districts. This number was fixed in 1910 on the basis of the census of 1907. The term of office is three years and the Chamber is totally renewed at each election, the members being re-eligible indefinitely. The election is by direct popular vote on a secret ballot on the principle of cumulative voting, which permits each voter to cast as many votes as the department is entitled to deputies, and to distribute them among as many different candidates or to concentrate them on one or more candidates, as he may choose, thus insuring the possibliity of minority representation in departments which are entitled to more than one deputy. This same principle of cumulative voting is adopted also for the election of Senators, presidential electors, and municipal councilors.

To be eligible for the office of Deputy there is required, in addition to the enjoyment of active citizenship, an annual income of at least 500 pesos.[1] Excluded from membership in the Chamber are members of the clergy, judges and prosecuting attorneys, the provincial intendents and departmental governors, those having contracts with the government, and their bondsmen, and naturalized citizens of less than five years' standing. The Deputies are unpaid and may not hold any lucrative public employment from the time of their election until six months after the termination of their office. This provision does not apply to the office of cabinet minister which may be filled by a Deputy, as will be seen later on.

The Chamber of Deputies enjoys the exclusive right to pass upon the election and qualification of its members, and to bring in articles of impeachment against the President, cabinet ministers, and other public officials, civil, military, and judicial. Laws relating to all forms of taxation and to recruiting must originate in the Chamber of Deputies.

[1] The theoretical unit of currency, the gold peso, is worth about $0.365 in United States gold. The actual medium of exchange is the paper peso of fluctuating value, but ordinarily worth about $0.20.

The Senate consists of thirty-seven members elected from the twenty-three provinces by direct popular vote on the basis of one Senator for every three Deputies and major fraction thereof elected in the province. Their term of office is six years and they are re-eligible indefinitely, the membership being renewed by halves, as nearly as possible, every three years. Provinces which elect only one Senator hold an election only every six years. The election is by cumulative secret ballot and is held on the same day as that for Deputies and municipal councilors, namely, the first Sunday in March. The qualifications for a senatorship include active citizenship, thirty-six years of age, an annual income of at least two thousand pesos, and never having been convicted of crime. The disqualifications laid down for Deputies apply also to Senators. Senators, like Deputies, serve without pay.

The exclusive powers of the Senate include the right to judge of the qualifications and elections of its members, to try the charges of impeachment brought by the Chamber of Deputies, to approve the nominations of the President to archbishoprics and bishoprics, and to approve nominations to diplomatic posts and to the higher military and naval posts. The removal from office of the higher officials in the civil service must also receive the concurrence of the Senate. Finally, laws relating to amnesties must originate in the Senate.

Deputies and Senators alike are inviolable for opinions expressed and votes cast in the discharge of their functions and are free from arrest and prosecution from the day of their election, without authorization of their respective chambers, unless taken in *flagrante delicto*. In the latter case also the respective chamber makes a preliminary investigation and decides whether the accused shall be suspended from office and subjected to the proper tribunal.

The Congress meets in annual session from the first of June to the first of September, a quorum for ordinary business being one-third of the membership in the Senate and one-fourth in the Chamber of Deputies. The chambers must meet simultaneously,

except when engaged in the bringing or trying of charges of impeachment. The regular legislative period may be extended by not more than fifty days by act of the President, who may also call special sessions with the advice and consent of the Council of State. In such sessions only such matters as have been made the subject of the call may be considered. The sessions of the Congress may not be prorogued by the President.

The powers of the Congress include the approval or disallowance of the accounting for public expenditures presented by the government; the approval or disapproval of declarations of war recommended by the President; the acceptance or refusal of the resignation of the President; the determination of the existence of a temporary or permanent incapacity on the part of the President to perform his function; the counting of the electoral votes for President, the passing on their validity, and in the cases provided the proceeding to the election of the President; the enactment of special and temporary laws imposing limitations on personal freedom, on the liberty of the press, and on the freedom of assembly when demanded by imperious necessity for preserving the security of the state, such laws to be in effect for no more than a year. Through its participation in the process of legislation the Congress shares in the determination of all matters which under the Constitution must be regulated by law. These include the imposition and modification of taxes; the passage of the annual budget; the fixing of the strength of the armed land and naval forces of the nation, which as also in the levying of taxes may be for a period of only eighteen months at a time; the contracting of public debts and providing for their payment; the division of the country into provinces and departments; the regulation of the currency and the determination of legal weights and measures; the admission of foreign troops into the territory of the republic; the creation and abolition of public offices and the determination of their salaries and duties; the fixing of pensions and the conferring of public honors; the granting of general pardons or amnesties; and the determination of the seat of the government and meeting place of the Congress. Finally,

and perhaps most important of all, is the power of the Congress to interpret, by legislative act, the meaning of any provision of the Constitution, and to amend, by a procedure to be noted hereafter, any portion or the whole of the same.

The question may here be raised as to the necessity of enumerating in such great detail the powers of the Congress. In the case of federal states, such as Brazil and Argentina already considered, or in the case of the United States of America which served them as a model, the exact enumeration of the powers of the federal Congress was essential as the only method of determining with precision the extent of the jurisdiction surrendered by the states to the federal government. But the constitutions of the individual states of the American Union contain no specific enumeration of the powers to be exercised by the legislature. On the contrary, they contain provisions which are limitations on those powers, on the established constitutional principle that the legislature is the repository of all governmental powers left to the states, in so far as not denied to them or expressly conferred upon other branches of the government. In Chile, on the other hand, the Constitution expressly vests the sovereignty in the nation, and declares that the authorities established by the Constitution, including the legislature therefore, are exercising delegated powers, which, under the constitutional practice already noted would seem to mean specifically enumerated powers. But this interpretation of the nature of the powers of the Chilean Congress must be discarded, since the whole field of civil and criminal law is omitted in the enumeration of the powers of Congress, but is none the less covered by legislation. Another explanation must, therefore, be sought for this express enumeration of the powers of the Congress, and it lies in all probability in the traditional attributes of the Executive in Latin-American countries. In colonial times the governor, captain-general, or viceroy exercised all powers of legislation as well as administration in the name of the king without the participation of any local representative body. In the early period of the struggle for independence, and in some cases for many years

after the establishment of independence, the "liberator" or dictator combined in his own hands all governmental powers. This might be in accordance with the express terms of an instrument imposed by him, or perhaps more frequently, in violation of provisions dividing governmental powers between him and a representative body. In any case the conception of the Executive as the embodiment of the real government was one based on widespread experience, and one which in Chile after the *régime* of O'Higgins and his successors must have been general. It is, therefore, as restrictions on the Executive that this enumeration of the powers of the Congress must be viewed, and not as implied limitation by specification on the Congress itself. This was perhaps the more necessary in that the Constitution of 1833 itself designates the President as the supreme chief of the nation, charged with the administration of the state and endowed with the express power of issuing decrees, regulations, and instructions in execution of the laws.

In the actual process of legislation some peculiarities of procedure are worth noting, as they are followed in many of the Latin-American countries. Bills may be introduced in either chamber, with the exceptions noted above, not only by any member of the chamber but also by presidential message. If a bill is rejected in the chamber of origin, it may not be reintroduced until the following session. If a bill passed by one chamber is totally rejected in the other, it is sent back to the first chamber and may be passed anew by a two-thirds vote of those present. It is then sent back to the second chamber which, in order to reject it, must do so by a two-thirds vote. If a bill is not rejected *in toto* in the second chamber but is amended, the first chamber may refuse to accept the amendments, in which case the bill goes back to the second chamber, which can by a two-thirds vote insist upon its amendments. Such amendments will then be considered as part of the bill unless the chamber of origin rejects the amendments by a two-thirds vote, in which case the bill is killed. A bill approved by both chambers with or without amendments goes to the President for approval and promulgation. The

latter, if he disapproves the bill, must return the same to the chamber of origin with his objections within fifteen days. The two chambers may by ordinary vote accept the changes recommended by the President, or by a two-thirds vote may pass the bill in its original form, provided an absolute majority of members are present. If the legislative session ends before the expiration of the fifteen-day period and the President has not approved the bill he must return the same with his objections to the chamber of origin within the first six days of the next regular session following, otherwise it will become a law.

The process of amending the Constitution differs in some measure from the process of ordinary legislation, though the Congress through its express power of interpreting the Constitution may in fact introduce changes under that guise through the ordinary legislative process. Amendments, like ordinary laws, may be introduced in either chamber by any member or by the President, but an absolute majority of the membership constitutes a quorum for that purpose. When both chambers agree on amendments the President may not veto them outright, but is limited to proposing modifications or corrections. The chambers may insist upon the proposed amendments in their original form by a two-thirds vote, or they may accept the modifications in whole or in part by a similar vote. In either case they are sent to the President for promulgation. But to become effective such amendments must be ratified by the Congress in the first session after the next congressional elections are held, and the President must publish the proposed amendments three months before the elections, calling public attention to the fact that the new Congress will be charged with that duty. In a measure, therefore, this provision permits of a partial referendum by the voters on the proposed amendments. But the action of the new Congress in approving the amendments by an absolute majority is final and no further ratification is required.

The text of the Constitution has been formally amended on a number of occasions, the most important changes so made referring to the establishment of freedom of worship and of

secular instruction; the prescribing of formalities necessary for securing pecuniary favors from the government; the requirement of cumulative voting for members of the permanent congressional committee; and permitting a change in the date set for counting the votes of the presidential electors, when required by circumstances. In addition to these formal amendments there have been passed a number of laws in the process of ordinary legislation, some of which may be regarded as merely interpreting provisions of the Constitution, but others of which appear to effect departures therefrom.[1]

One feature of congressional organization in Chile especially worthy of notice, though found in other Latin-American states as will be seen hereafter, is the permanent legislative committee, a sort of executive committee to act for the Congress in the interval between sessions. This institution does not have its counterpart in the United States, nor do the Constitutions of Brazil and Argentina make any such provision. This body consists of fourteen members, seven from each chamber, elected before the close of each regular session of the Congress by a cumulative vote, to function until the 31st of the following May, *i. e.*, until the opening of the next regular session. The business of this body as the representative of the Congress is to exercise during its recess the supervision intrusted to the Legislature by the Constitution over all branches of the public administration. Specifically, it is to watch over the observances of the Constitution and the laws and afford protection to the individual guarantees and to address to the President representations looking to those ends. This committee, moreover, acts in the place of the Senate in approving or disapproving appointments and removals, and may call the Congress to meet in extraordinary session upon its own motion or upon written request of a majority of both chambers. The committee is responsible to the Congress for the performance of its functions and must render an account

[1] As, for instance, the electoral law of 1890, which adds to the list of those excluded by the Constitution from inscription in the voters' list, clericals and those in active service in the army and navy.

to the same at its first session of the measures undertaken by it. Such a body obviously presents the possibility of a more effective check by the Legislature on the Executive than would be the case without it.

The Executive Power. It is in the position of the Executive as a branch of the government that Chile differentiates herself most clearly from the United States and from the rest of the Latin-American republics and approaches much more closely to the situation in France and other European parliamentary republics. It is not, however, so much in the organization and constitutional powers of the Executive that Chile presents such a marked distinction, though even there some points are worth noting, but rather in the manner prescribed by custom for the exercise of those powers, transforming Chile from a presidential into a congressional or parliamentary form of government, a form which is if anything more pronounced in Chile than in France, as will appear from the later discussion. Before considering the operation of the parliamentary control, however, it will be necessary to consider the organization and nominal powers of the Executive.

The supreme chief of the nation, according to the terms of the Constitution, is a citizen with the title of President. Native citizenship, thirty years of age, and in other respects eligibility to membership in the Chamber of Deputies, are the legal qualifications for the office, to which, until the election of 1920 at least, the practical qualification of membership in the "Upper Hundred" was to be added. The term of office is five years and the President is not re-eligible until after the interval of an equal period of years.

In the manner of electing the President, the model of the United States of America has been closely followed. The voters in each department choose by direct, secret, and cumulative vote presidential electors, to a number equal to three times the number of deputies chosen in that department. This election is held on June 25th of the year in which the presidential term ends. One month later the electors cast their votes at the capital of the

province in which the department is situated. As in the United States the function of the presidential electors consists in voting for the candidate approved by the party or group which chose them. The result of their vote is embodied in two duplicate lists, one of which is retained by the municipal council of the provincial capital and the other sent to the Senate. On August 30th, or as soon thereafter as possible, the votes are read before a joint session of the two chambers under the chairmanship of the President of the Senate. The votes are then counted, or if necessary, their validity or invalidity determined. The Constitution of Chile, it will be noted, gives to the Congress the express power of passing on the validity of the electoral votes, a power which the Congress of the United States in its analogous function, possesses, if at all, only by implication. In spite of this express power, however, Chile resorted in the election of 1920 to a device very similar to the one hit upon in this country in the Hayes-Tilden controversy. Not trusting to the impartiality of the Congress in judging of the outcome of the close and bitter contest between Borgoño and Alessandri, the supporters of both candidates agreed to leave the determination of the result of the electoral vote to a Court of Honor of seven members.

An absolute majority of the electoral vote is required for election. Failing that, Congress chooses the President from among the two candidates who have received the greatest number of votes. It will be noted that there is no Vice-President elected in Chile. In case of temporary disability the Minister of the Interior assumes the position of Vice-President. In case of premanent incapacity a new election for President is held, upon the order of the Vice-President.[1] The order of succession, after the Minister of the Interior, is established as follows: the senior member of the cabinet and in the absence of cabinet ministers, the senior member of the Council of State, not being an ecclesiastic.

[1] It may be noted here, in passing, that there is a tendency evident in Latin-American constitutions to abolish the office of Vice-President. See an article by H. G. James, "Constitutional Tendencies in Latin America," *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union,* March, 1921, pages 244-253.

The Constitution intrusts to the President the administration and government of the State, with an authority extending to everything looking to the preservation of internal order and external security, and the observance and enforcement of the Constitution. This broad general grant of executive and administrative powers is then supplemented by a more specific enumeration of attributes, among which the following are the most important:

He participates in the legislative process through his power to introduce measures, through his suspensive veto, and through his power to issue such decrees, regulations, and instructions as he may deem necessary for the execution of the laws. He may extend the time of the regular sessions of Congress by a maximum period of fifty days and may call extraordinary sessions with the advice and consent of the Council of State. His power of appointment and removal is unlimited as to cabinet ministers, department officers, five councilors of state, intendents of provinces and governors of departments, and in general all subordinate civil and military officers. It extends also, subject to the concurrence of the Senate, to diplomatic ministers, to the higher military officers, and to bishops and archbishops. The subordinate clerical officers and the judges are also appointed by the President, upon nomination of the Council of State. The President grants leaves of absence, retiring allowances, and pensions of all kinds, in conformity with the law. He is charged with the supervision of the collection and disbursement of all public revenues, exercises the right of ecclesiastical patronage, and approves or disapproves, concurrently with the Council of State, papal bulls, briefs, and rescripts, and conciliar decrees. He is commander-in-chief of the land and naval forces, and may command them in person with the consent of the Senate. He declares war with the previous approval of the Congress, and represents the nation in all its foreign relations. He enjoys the treaty-making power to its fullest extent, but the approval of the Congress is requisite for the validity of all treaties negotiated by him. The President enjoys the pardoning power, subject to the consent of the Council of State, and with the like consent he

may declare a state of siege in any part of the republic in case of foreign attack, or domestic disturbance, but in the latter case only if the Congress is not in session. The entire police of the country and all public institutions are placed under the supervision of the President.

During the President's term of office he may not leave the national territory without the consent of Congress, nor for the period of a year thereafter. He may be impeached in like manner either during his term of office or during the year immediately following for compromising during his incumbency the honor or safety of the state or openly violating the Constitution. When the term of office of the President has expired he ceases to act as such, whether or not his successor has been duly elected and qualified.

It has been seen from the enumeration of the President's functions that he is intrusted with a very extensive share of the governmental powers of the state. But all governmental acts of the President must be countersigned by the appropriate Minister, who thereby assumes personal responsibility therefor, and all Ministers are subject to impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies and trial by the Senate for treason, corruption in office, misappropriation of public funds, bribery, violation of the Constitution, disobedience to the laws or failure to enforce them, or having compromised the safety or honor of the nation. Now, this requirement of the countersignature of the proper Ministers, although not contained in the Constitution of the United States, occurs, as has been noted, in the Constitutions of both Brazil and Argentina, and in very much the same terms. But whereas in those two countries no political responsibility has grown out of this legal responsibility, in Chile this development has occurred and a real parliamentary government has evolved. Nowhere does the Constitution prescribe that the Ministers shall resign when they no longer have the support of a majority of the Chamber of Deputies, as is done in some modern constitutions based on the principle of parliamentary government.[1] But since the revolution of 1891, resulting in the defeat of President

[1] *E.g.*, The new German Constitution, Art. 54.

Balmaceda who had tried to extinguish this control of the Congress, the parliamentary principle of ministerial responsibility is as firmly established and as universally accepted as it is in England, where also it exists by custom and precedent and not by law. In the performance of his governmental acts, therefore, the President is obliged to be guided by the political necessity of finding Ministers who are willing to assume the political as well as legal responsibility of approving those acts.

Of these Ministers, constituting collectively what is commonly called the cabinet, there are six (Interior; Foreign Affairs; Justice and Public Instruction; Finance; Defense; Industries and Public Works), their number and jurisdiction being determined by act of Congress. The qualifications for such a post are Chilean nativity and otherwise eligibility to the Chamber of Deputies. Ministers may be and frequently are members of one of the chambers, and whether members or not they may attend the sessions and take part in the debate, but without a vote unless they are members. The Ministers must submit an annual report of their own departments to Congress at the beginning of the session, and must also present an annual statement of accounts for the year past, and estimate of expenditures for the ensuing year.

The cabinet in Chile under the system of parliamentary responsibility has shown an extreme instability, many of the ministries enjoying a life of only a few months, while few have lasted more than a year. The situation there is closely analogous to that found in France, except that the instability is even greater in Chile. But the causes are to a considerable extent the same and lie chiefly in the absence of the two-party system which characterizes the British parliamentary form. This instability of government is in Chile as in France one of the most constant objects of criticism in the governmental system, and it is interesting to note that in both of these countries there is developing a strong disposition to modify or abandon the parliamentary system in favor of true presidential form of government such as is found in the United States and in other Latin-American states. It is to be noted that the Executive does not in Chile, as he does in France and Eng-

land and in most other parliamentary governments, have the power to dissolve the legislature and appeal to the electorate. This makes for still greater instability since a temporary or accidental hostile majority results in the overthrow of the government, even though the electorate as a whole might be clearly in sympathy with it. The Liberal Democratic party some years ago incorporated into its program the proposal to accord to the Executive the power of dissolution, and other party groups have shown themselves favorably inclined toward such a development.[1]

The limitations on the exercise of the powers of the Executive resulting from the adoption of the system of ministerial responsibility, far-reaching as these are, are not the only ones found in Chile, for that country adopted in its Constitution of 1833 the institution of a Council of State. This body which resembles in constitution and powers the Council of State in France, and bears some analogy to the Privy Council in England, consists of eleven members under the chairmanship of the President of the Republic. Three members are chosen by the Senate, three by the Chamber of Deputies, and five by the President himself, these latter comprising a judge of the superior courts in Santiago, a high church dignitary, a bureau chief of the Treasury Department, a naval or military chief, and an individual who has served as a cabinet minister, diplomatic agent, intendent, governor, or mayor. Cabinet ministers may not serve as councilors of state. Otherwise anyone qualified for membership in the Senate is eligible to a place in the Council. This body is chiefly advisory to the President, and all bills proposed by the President must be submitted to its consideration, as well as all measures passed by the chambers and submitted to him for approval. Furthermore, the annual budget must be submitted to its consideration before submission to Congress. In addition to tendering advice on these and any other matters which the President may lay before it, the Council of State nominates appointees to the judicial positions

[1] See an article by Paul S. Reinsch, "Parliamentary Government in Chile" in the *American Political Science Review,* Vol. III, No. 4 (November, 1909), for a discussion of this and other features of the parliamentary system there.

in the various courts, and to the ecclesiastical offices within the appointing power of the President; hears disputes relating to ecclesiastical patronage and protection; determines conflicts of jurisdiction between the various administrative authorities, and between them and the regular courts of justice; passes on the liability to criminal prosecution of provincial intendents and departmental and military governors; approves of the declaration of a state of siege in case of foreign war; and recommends the dismissal of cabinet ministers or subordinate public officials guilty of delinquencies, incompetency, or negligence. The councilors themselves are liable to impeachment and trial for actions contrary to the laws and of manifestly evil intent. This institution of a Council of State, though not found in either Brazil or Argentina, is not uncommon in other Latin-American states, and has been adopted in a somewhat different form in the new constitutions recently put into effect in Uruguay and in Peru. It is of interest chiefly as showing the influence of European institutions on Latin-American governments, which are ordinarily considered as having been closely modeled on North American principles.

The Judiciary. The Constitution of Chile says little about the judicial branch of the government beyond asserting its independence over against the executive and the legislature, providing tenure during good behavior for the judges of the higher courts, and protecting all judges against removal except on the basis of a legal judgment. The judges are made constitutionally responsible for bribery, failure to observe the forms of legal procedure, or other perversion of justice, but it is left to the Congress to enforce this responsibility, as also to determine the qualifications for judges, and in general the organization of the judiciary. This comprises a supreme court at Santiago, consisting of seven members and enjoying, in accordance with constitutional provision, directive, corrective, and economic superintendence over all subordinate courts; seven appellate courts; courts of first instance in each of the departments; and subordinate justices in the district. Public prosecutors, public defenders, and official arbiters are established by law.

The jurisprudence of Chile, as of all the Latin-American countries, is based fundamentally on the Spanish or Civil Law. It is contained in the various codes of civil and criminal procedure, the civil code, the penal code, the code of commerce, and the code of mineral law.[1] Trial by jury is used only in cases involving abuse of the liberty of the press.

Local Government. For purposes of local government the country is divided into twenty-three provinces and one territory (that of Magallanes at the extreme south of the country). The provinces are subdivided into eighty-two departments, these into 901 subdelegations,[2] and these finally into 3228 districts.[3] At the head of each department stands an intendent appointed for three years by the President, whose natural and immediate agent he is. In the period immediately preceding the adoption of the Constitution of 1833 the provinces possessed also local assemblies and were supposed to function as constituent units of a federal state, but the failure of that scheme of organization led to the discontinuance of the assemblies and the adoption of a strict hierarchical administration. The provinces are very unequal in area and population.[4]

At the head of the departments there are the governors, in whom the administration is vested. These are appointed by the President on recommendation of the intendents of the province, and though appointed for three years are removable by the intendents with the approval of the President. The Constitution designates the governors as subordinates of the intendents, who direct their actions much as the prefect in France controls the acts of the subprefects. The subdelegations are administered by officials called subdelegates appointed for two years by

[1] The text of these various codes, together with the law organizing the judiciary, are to be found in convenient form in the collection edited with official sanction by Eulojio Rojas Mery (Santiago de Chile) with modifications up to 1912.

[2] Including four in the Territory of Magallanes.

[3] Including four in the Territory of Magallanes. *Sinopsis Estadistica* (Santiago, 1919).

[4] The official estimates for 1918 showed a variation in area of from 1,775 square miles in Valparaiso province to 46,408 in Antofagasta, and in population from 39,357 in Tacna to 627,491 in Santiago province.

the governor of the department, who may also remove them, reporting such action and its justification to the intendent of the province. Below the subdelegates are the inspectors, in charge of the districts, and standing in the same relation of subordinate to the former, as they in turn to the governors, these to the intendents, and the last-named to the President. This constitutes, therefore, a highly centralized and complex administrative hierarchy, heading up finally in the President.

The only governmental subdivisions with any powers of local self-government are the municipalities. Each departmental capital is constituted a municipality and in addition such other towns as may be designated by the President with the approval of the Council of State.[1] Such municipalities are allowed a council chosen by direct popular vote. But the president of each council is the subdelegate of the administrative area in which it is located, the governor of the department being the President of the council in the departmental capital and superior chief of all other councils in his department. The powers intrusted to the municipal councils are fairly extensive, comprising public health, and all matters relating to the comfort, improvement, and recreation of the inhabitants, in particular the promotion of education, agriculture, industry, and commerce. But the resources of the cities are so limited that practically all funds for public works must be secured from the national treasury, and all ordinances must be approved by the President of the Republic. There is, therefore, in reality little municipal autonomy in spite of the reforms of 1891 looking toward the enlargement of local powers. This dependence of the municipalities upon the national treasury, with its attendant political consequences, has been very generally decried as an evil requiring immediate correction.[2]

Finances and Functions of the Government. The total governmental revenues, exclusive of the income from state railroads, amounted in 1918 to 301,439,403 paper pesos (or 249,910,012 gold pesos of the value of $0.365). Of this amount about three-

[1] 331 in 1918. *Sinopsis Estadística* (Santiago, 1919).
[2] See Reinsch, *op. cit.* in *American Political Science Review.*

fourths were derived from customs duties, by far the largest portion of which represented export duties on nitrates. Internal revenue taxes brought in about 40,000,000 in paper pesos, and miscellaneous sources of income amounted to about as much more. In 1918 the state railroads showed a net deficit of some 9,000,000 gold pesos, though in the three preceding years they had shown a slight net income. The chief expenditures for the preceding year showed a distribution of twenty-one per cent of the total, exclusive of expenses for the administration of the national debt of the state railroads (amounting in that year to 403,553,867 gold pesos external debt, and 73,412,580 paper pesos internal debt, besides the large issue of unsecured paper money). The next largest item of expenditure was about thirteen per cent for the army, which contained about 18,000 officers and men in active service. All native males are liable to compulsory military service. The *carabineros,* a national police force similar to the French *gendarmerie* and organized along military lines, comprise a personnel of about 2,000, and the security police, also under the direction of the national government, comprising about 10,000 officers and men, together represented about seven and a half per cent of the total expenditure. The naval expenditures represented about seven per cent of the total, the naval forces comprising about 5,500 officers and men and consisting of more than fifty vessels, most of them of antiquated construction. The next largest single item of expenditure was for elementary public instruction, supported chiefly by the national government, and totaling over six per cent of the expenditures. The other principal items of expenditure comprised pensions, maritime works, the administration of the customs, public charity, and secondary educating in the order named. The Roman Catholic Church, though the established church of the state, received from the treasury only about 1,000,000 gold pesos.

Political Parties

In Chile, as in Brazil and in Argentina, if not indeed to an even greater extent, politics is the concern of a relatively small portion of the population, in spite of the theoretically democratic

basis of organization. Until recent years at any rate, Chile has been goverened by a pretty well-defined oligarchy of the wealthy landholders and the professional men of the cities, allied for the most part with the clergy. This solidarity of interests has prevented the development of political parties with far-reaching programs based on economic and social considerations; but within the past decade or so the urban laboring element has developed a strength which showed its possibilities in a striking fashion in the election of President Alessandri in 1920. His election represents the first instance of the selection of a President not only by but from the middle classes, and was widely hailed as an evidence of changing conditions in Chile, occasioned partly at least by the industrial development of that country. Of domination of the elections by the President, such as is experienced in Argentina, Brazil, and other Latin-American countries, there has been in Chile no instance in many years. A feature of Chilean politics which has been very generally deplored within and widely commented upon without the country is the widespread practice of bribery in connection with elections. Apparently this is a diminishing evil, though charges of that kind of corruption were freely exchanged in connection with the last election referred to above. Within the Congress there are a half dozen distinct parties of recognized standing and some others of a less important nature. The old struggle between clericals and anticlericals is reflected to a certain degree by the division into conservatives and radicals, but otherwise it is difficult to discover any fundamental points of difference between the various party groups. The Democratic party stands for the interests of the working classes, and, as has been said, has been gaining strength within recent years. But owing to the multiplicity of parties and the lack of definite programs based on the economic and social demands of the various elements of the population, parliamentary politics is carried on by more or less unstable coalitions, resulting in kaleidoscopic changes of ministry and the impossibility of working out governmental programs which require for their execution an appreciable period of time.

Summary Table of Economic Conditions in Chile

Commerce

Total Foreign Commerce in 1918.....	valued at	1,172,696,577	gold	pesos
Exports "	"	"	763,622,512	"	"
Imports "	"	"	436,074,065	"	"
Chief Exports in 1918:					
Nitrate and its by-products.....	"	"	532,323,781	"	"
Other Minerals	"	"	111,996,048	"	"
Products of stock raising and agriculture	"	"	76,294,050	"	"
Products of industry (chiefly food products)	"	"	39,658,197	"	"
Chief Imports in 1918:					
Coal and other fuels.....	"	"	21,046,724	"	"
Live animals	"	"	12,062,942	"	"
Agricultural products	"	"	20,501,859	"	"
Manufactured food	"	"	34,140,771	"	"
Textiles	"	"	127,112,347	"	"
Chemicals	"	"	38,931,453	"	"
Metallic articles	"	"	38,063,811	"	"
Machinery	"	"	32,578,142	"	"
Articles for transportation (railroad rolling stock, wagons, automobiles, etc.)	"	"	21,419,970	"	"
Other finished products (furniture, paper products, etc.)	"	"	35,132,200	"	"
Gold bullion and coin.....	"	"	40,953,698	"	"
Exports by Principal Countries of Destination (1918):					
United States of America.....	valued at		488,994,749	"	"
Great Britain	"	"	182,124,854	"	"
Argentina	"	"	26,345,476	"	"
Peru	"	"	18,170,322	"	"
Japan	"	"	8,270,783	"	"
Bolivia	"	"	7,959,266	"	"
France	"	"	4,241,265	"	"

Prior to the World War, in 1913, Great Britain ranked first among countries of destination, with exports valued at 153,000,000 gold pesos, Germany second with 84,000,000, and the United States third with 83,000,000.

Imports by Principal Countries of Origin (1918):					
United States of America.....	valued at		203,451,891	gold	pesos
Great Britain	"	"	81,445,588	"	"
Peru	"	"	31,748,068	"	"
Argentina	"	"	30,977,633	"	"
India	"	"	18,708,548	"	"
France	"	"	13,800,859	"	"
Spain	"	"	12,112,024	"	"
Japan	"	"	11,762,314	"	"
Mexico	"	"	7,305,009	"	"

Prior to the World War, in 1913, Great Britain ranked first among the countries of origin of imports, valued at 99,000,000 gold pesos. Germany second with 81,035,995 and the United States third with 55,000,000.

Communications. At the end of 1918 there were in operation 8,511 kilometers of railroad, of which 4,566 belonged to the state and 3,945 to private companies. The private railroads are found almost wholly in the northern provinces and are used chiefly for the transportation of nitrate and other minerals. The principal railway system of the state is the longitudinal railway traversing the republic from north to south.

The total length of telegraph lines in 1918 amounted to 15,687 kilometers of state telegraphs and 9,078 kilometers of privately owned lines. Public roads totaled 35,306 kilometers in 1918 and there were about 700 kilometers of navigable streams besides some 800 square kilometers of navigable lakes.

In 1918 some 26,700 vessels, with a tonnage of 25,140,280 entered and cleared the ports of the Republic. The merchant marine of the country amounted in the same year to some 130 vessels with a total tonnage of about 70,000.

Production and Industry. In the northern section of the country mining is the chief industry. The value of the minerals produced in 1917 amounted to 768,739,886 gold pesos, of which amount the production of nitrate alone represented 510,367,506. Copper represented the next largest mineral product measured in value of the output, computed at 143,512,182 gold pesos, with coal third[1] valued at 87,740,898 gold pesos. In the central portion of the country stock raising and agriculture are the chief activities. The principal agricultural products in 1918 were wheat, barley, beans, and oats; potatoes; and wines. The cattle amounted in 1918 to 2,225,523 head, the sheep to 4,434,115, goats 451,941, and pigs 326,338. The number of horses was estimated at 411,477, 52,527 mules, and 37,723 asses. Manufacturing is increasing and in 1917 showed 2,736 establishments representing an investment of nearly 600,000,000 paper pesos and employing about 65,000 operatives. The total value of the

[1] The coal mines are in the southern part of the country.

output in 1917 equaled 701,362,029 paper pesos, the chief items of which were represented by manufactured food products, leather and hides, gas and electricity, clothing, and chemical products in the order named.

CHAPTER VII

PERU—BOLIVIA

Peru

PERU SINCE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

San Martín, the Protector. When the Argentine general San Martín formally declared the independence of Peru in the great square of Lima on July 28, 1821, actual independence was in that country, as in almost all the Latin-American states, when it was formally declared, a hope rather than an accomplished fact. Although San Martín at the head of the victorious army of Liberation had possession of the ancient viceregal capital, more than three dark and troubled years were to elapse before the final and complete overthrow of the royal Spanish power occurred in the victory of Bolívar's lieutenant Sucre over the royalist forces on the plain of Ayacucho.

The revolutionary government centered in San Martín, who enjoyed the supreme military and civil authority under the self-assumed title of Protector. He faced the double problem of prosecuting the war against the royalists and of establishing a governmental system for the newly emancipated state. In spite of his repeated assurance that he entertained no ideas of personal ambition in connection with Peru, he was subject to suspicion and opposition on the part of many of the influential Creoles in Lima. For a period he governed with the aid of three secretaries appointed by him; the calling of a representative assembly being delayed until the completion of the war of independence. The first Peruvian Congress met on September 29, 1822, but meanwhile the campaign against the royalists had lagged and even experienced serious reverses, and San Martín's interview with Bolívar at Guayaquil in July, 1822, had convinced him that the necessary

aid from the Venezuelan liberator would not be forthcoming unless he himself would yield the field to the ambitious and successful Bolívar. San Martín, therefore, diminished in prestige, disliked because of his cherished plan of placing a European prince on the Peruvian throne, and feared and hated because of the suspected desire to occupy himself that position, placed his resignation as Protector of Peru before the Congress and left the country which he had been so instrumental in freeing from Spanish domination.

His Immediate Successors. If the Peruvians thought that with the elimination of San Martín, they were fated to pursue their own fortunes without outside interference they were destined to disappointment, chiefly because they were powerless to prosecute the war against the royalists without help. After placing the executive power in the hands of a triumvirate and promulgating the first Constitution of Peru, which was destined never to go into effect, the Congress selected Colonel Riva Aguëro as President to succeed to the executive power so inefficiently wielded by the triumvirate. Riva Aguëro sent an envoy in March, 1823, to Bolívar requesting soldiers, money, and munitions, and in May of the same year General Sucre offered to the Peruvian Congress the aid of the Colombian division under his command for the preservation of the liberty of Peru. With the advent of Sucre the power and prestige of Riva Aguëro steadily declined and in June the Congress intrusted full powers to General Sucre and sent emissaries to invite Bolívar to Peru. Aguëro dissolved the Congress in July, but a rump assembly in August declared him a traitor and transferred the presidency to the Marquis of Torre Tagle. With the advent of Bolívar in September the fortunes of Peru lay in the hands of the Liberator, who was given by the Peruvian Congress supreme military and political authority, so far as necessary for the prosecution of the war, and was accorded in February, 1834, the supreme political power.

Late in 1826 the Peruvian Congress adopted a Constitution modeled closely on the one prepared for Bolivia by Bolívar, but the Liberator having resigned the supreme authority in Peru

in September, 1826, and having returned to Bogotá, this document, one of the remarkable contributions of the versatile Venezuelan to the history of this period, was discarded and a new Constitution (that of 1828) was framed by the Congress based on the earlier document of 1822. With the disappearance of Bolívar there began in Peru a period of factional strife, revolution, and anarchy which lasted for twenty years. La Mar, Gamarra, Orbegoso, Salaverry, and numerous other chiefs appeared on the bloody scene for a longer or shorter period until the ambitious and energetic dictator of Bolivia, Santa Cruz, united that country and a partitioned Peru under his own control. Opposed by the powerful military classes in Peru and defeated by a combined force of Chileans and Peruvian exiles, Santa Cruz was overthrown and exiled. Gamarra again succeeded to the presidency of Peru (1839), while the confederation with Bolivia was dissolved. A new Constitution had been framed in 1834, and in November, 1839, with the re-establishment of Gamarra, the fourth Constitution was promulgated at Huancayo.

Gamarra remained in power only two years when he was killed in the battle of Yngavi against the Bolivians. Menéndez, the constitutional successor to the presidency, was powerless before a combination of Peruvian generals, each of whom aspired to the presidency. There seemed no hope for peace and order until there emerged out of comparative obscurity the man who was to control the destiny of Peru for twenty years and accord to her the blessings of comparative quiet and material prosperity. This man was Ramón Castilla, a colonel in the battle of Ayacucho and then prefect in his native province of Tarapacá. He had taken an active part in the revolutionary movements of the preceding years and returned with Gamarra and the Chileans when Santa Cruz was overthrown. At the battle of Yngavi he was taken prisoner and upon his return to Peru he espoused the cause of the fugitive constitutional President Menéndez, whom, after defeating Vivanco, he restored to the position of acting President in 1844. The next year Castilla was elected President of Peru.

Castilla as President (1845-1851 and 1855-1862.) From

1845 to 1851 Castilla gave to Peru an administration that was autocratic, but in the highest degree beneficial. Fortunate in the possession of the guano and nitrate industries the value of which was just beginning to be realized, Castilla had at hand enormous resources which he used for the establishment of the public finances on a secure basis, for the reduction of taxes, and for the undertaking of extensive public works. The internal and external debt of the country was consolidated, telegraphs and railways were constructed, and steam vessels added to the navy. A feeling of security encouraged commerce and foreign investment and discouraged the ambitions of military leaders. But when in 1851 Castilla was succeeded by Echenique, the temptation to subvert and squander the apparently limitless resources of the government proved too strong, and extravagance and corruption became rampant. After a first insurrection against the government of Echenique had been quelled, Castilla himself took up arms against his unworthy successor and overthrew him, and was himself again elected to the presidency in 1855, which he held until 1862.

Although Castilla's second term was not as economical and financially progressive as his first, he succeeded in maintaining order and in still further dispersing and weakening the revolutionary traditions which had maintained so powerful a hold on the country when he first assumed power in 1845. During his second incumbency the Constitutions of 1856 and of 1860 were promulgated, the latter of which remained in force until the adoption of the present Constitution in 1920. Castilla's administration may, therefore, be regarded as having marked the beginning of a new era in Peru.

President Pezet and His Successors. An interlude of minor importance was the war with Spain in 1865 during the presidency of Pezet, who had peacefully succeeded to the office on the death of San Román, the successor of Castilla. The pretext for the war was the killing of some Spanish colonists for which Peru refused to make the desired reparations. Pezet called on Chile for assistance, but having meanwhile yielded to ignominious

terms imposed by the Spaniards whose ships had seized upon the Chincha Islands, he was forced to resign before the storm of popular indignation, the armed threats of Prado who succeeded him as supreme chief in place of the constitutional successor Canseco, and the demands of old Castilla. Prado declared war on Spain and signed a treaty of alliance with Chile. In May, 1866, the Spanish fleet was beaten back from an unsuccessful assault upon Callao and the combined Chilean and Peruvian vessels, and abandoned all further hostilities.

Prado had secured office by a revolutionary act and Canseco, the constitutional successor to Pezet, with the support of Castilla in the south and of Colonel Balta in the north, ousted Prado and served until the end of his legal term in 1868, when Balta was elected President. Balta entered upon enormous schemes of public works such as railways and harbors, parks and public buildings, and increased the foreign debt of the country from five to forty-nine millions of pounds sterling. This tremendous debt, which required for interest payments alone, two-thirds of the total revenues of the country, Balta left to his successor Don Manuel Pardo. Within a few days of the end of Balta's term of office he was captured and murdered by some discontented officers, and Pardo was constitutionally elected to succeed him.

Manuel Pardo was Peru's first civilian President and represented the reaction of lawyers and business men against the militarism of the former era. He encouraged education, introduced governmental reforms, and has acquired the title of the best President who ever ruled Peru. But he could not avert the national bankruptcy threatened by the drain of the enormous interest charges on the foreign debt and the rapid exhaustion of the guano deposits, which had constituted one of the principal sources of revenue. Payment of interest on the foreign debt was suspended in 1876 after a monopoly of nitrates had been declared the year before, and in 1876 Pardo turned over a bankrupt government to his successor, General Prado.

The War With Chile and Its Consequences. The next period of Peruvian history is dominated by the war with Chile and its

consequences. By the treaty of 1866 Bolivia had accorded to Chile disputed territory in the nitrate districts as far north as latitude 24° south, and Chilean mining companies were permitted to carry on their operations north of that line under a promise that their taxes would not be increased without the consent of Chile. Continual difficulties arose between Chile and Bolivia over the provisions of this treaty, and in 1873 Peru and Bolivia entered into a treaty of alliance. Chile regarded this treaty as directed against her and immediately began strengthening her armed forces, particularly her navy. Peru accused Chile of seeking a pretext for war in the hope of securing by force the rich nitrate deposits of Bolivia and Peru. Chile on her part denounced Peru for intriguing with Bolivia to impose export taxes on the products of the Chilean mining companies in Bolivia, so that the Peruvian government monopoly might be more lucrative. Bolivia made an attempt in 1875 to collect such an export tax at Antofagasta and upon the reimposition of the same in 1879 Chile sent warships to seize that port. Bolivia declared war upon Chile in March, 1879, and after an ineffectual attempt on the part of Peru to secure arbitration and her failure to comply with the peremptory demands of Chile, the latter country declared war upon Peru the month following.

The military history of the war need not concern us here. Exposed to invasion by the destruction of her gallant but ineffective navy by the superior forces of the Chileans, Peru was defeated on land and her capital occupied in January, 1881. President Prado had gone to Europe in the dark days of December, 1879, to secure money and ships. But hardly had he left when an uprising headed by Piérola (who had organized an unsuccessful revolt against Pardo in 1874) made the latter President and supreme chief for the prosecution of the war. The Chileans occupied Lima for almost three years, delayed by the impossibility of securing a responsible Peruvian administration which would agree to the cession of Tarapacá and the occupation of Tacna and Arica. Piérola was in the interior of the country and refused to treat on the basis of any cession of Peruvian

territory. A congress summoned in June, 1881, under the presidency of Calderón and the vice-presidency of Montero, refused likewise to consider any cession of territory. Calderón was banished by the Chileans and Montero was likewise compelled to give up his office. Thereupon General Iglesias, who counseled the securing of peace by acceptance of the Chilean terms, was recognized by the Chileans as head of the government, and with him the treaty of Ancón was made on October 20, 1883. The capital was evacuated two days later, but Chilean troops remained in the territory of Peru until May, 1884, when the treaty was ratified. Humiliated and bankrupt, Peru faced a future in which there seemed little ground for hope.

Subsequent Presidents. Iglesias was not the choice of the Peruvians as a whole, and when the forces of Chile were withdrawn General Cáceres, who had held out against the Chilean forces to the last, set out to overthrow him. Cáceres was successful and was elected President in 1886 by a council of ministers appointed for that purpose. Cáceres was succeeded in 1890 by Colonel Bermúdez, but upon the death of the latter in 1893 violence broke out anew, Cáceres again assumed power only to be overcome and succeeded in 1895 by Piérola, the former leader of two unsuccessful revolutions and President for a brief period during the war with Chile. Calderón, in his *Latin America,* dates the renaissance of Peru from this administration, for Piérola re-established the ruined finances of the country, reorganized the army, transforming it from the servant of ambitious factions into a force for preserving domestic peace, and promulgated electoral reforms.

Piérola was peacefully succeeded by Romaña in 1899, and the latter by Candamo in 1903, who died the next year. After an administration of four years by another Pardo, the son of Manuel Pardo, who had been assassinated in 1878, President Leguía served for four years, beginning in 1908. With a few notable exceptions peace and order characterized these years, with marked progress in internal development and external credit, though boundary controversies with Ecuador and almost perennial fric-

tion with Chile over the holding of the plebiscite in the occupied provinces of Tacna and Arica (the ten-year period of occupation by Chile having expired in 1894) threatened serious disturbances at various times. Leguía was succeeded in 1912 by President Billingshurst, whose difficulties with Congress resulted in another revolutionary outbreak and the election in 1915 of José Pardo. By a *coup d'etat* on July 4, 1919, Leguía assumed the presidency again and was confirmed by Congress to serve for the five-year period from 1919-1924. Under his administration there was prepared and promulgated the Constitution of 1920 which underlies the present governmental system. The boundary disputes with Ecuador and Bolivia have been put in the way of peaceful and final adjustment. As noted in the concluding chapter of our text, the dispute with Chile is also apparently approaching a settlement, thanks to the initiative and good offices of the United States government.

GENERAL FEATURES OF PERU

Area and Topography. Peru, the survival of the ancient Spanish viceroyalty of the same name, lies on the west coast of South America between approximately latitude 3° and 18° south. She is contiguous on the north with Ecuador, on the northeast and east with Colombia and Brazil, on the southeast with Bolivia, and on the south with Chile. But owing to the uncertainties of the exact boundaries of the viceroyalty at the time of independence, Peru is or has been until very recent times in dispute with each one of her neighbors as to the exact location of the boundaries, disputes which on more than one occasion have threatened and even precipitated war. At the present time the chief controversy lies in the disputed territories of Tacna and Arica, which are occupied by Chile but are claimed by Peru. The other boundary disputes are now either settled or in the process of being finally determined, but pending the final survey of definite limits the greatest variations exist in the area assigned to Peru. The official Peruvian estimate places the figure at 679,600 square miles, which would make Peru fifth in area among Latin-

American states and about 90,000 square miles smaller than Mexico.

Amid a great variety of topographical conditions, Peru displays three principal regions, the coastal plains, the sierras, and the eastern slopes of the Andes, terminating in the lowlands of the Amazon basin. The coastal plain is a narrow strip, averaging some thirty miles in width, between the Pacific Ocean and the western or maritime cordillera. It is characterized, like the northern coast of Chile, by the almost complete absence of rain, due to the precipitation on the slopes of the Andes of the moisture borne from the east by the prevailing winds. This region is therefore, largely arid, save where the small streams coming down from the sierra supply to a limited area the moisture necessary for vegetation. The tropical heat, which would naturally be anticipated along the coast, is greatly modified by the influence of the antarctic or Humboldt current and by the prevailing cloudiness caused thereby, screening off during a considerable part of the year the rays of the tropical sun. The central portion of Peru contains three principal mountain ranges between which are deep valleys and elevated table-lands. The mountains rise in a number of cases above the line of perpetual snow and the climate of the higher table-lands is cold. The intermediate slopes and valleys of this region have a temperate climate, while the deeper valleys exhibit tropical conditions. The eastern portion of Peru, commonly called the Montaña, slopes down from the Andes to the basin of the Amazon, or rather its tributary the Marañon, and presents a tropical climate with abundant rainfall and consequent heavy forests. The Marañon and its affluents are navigable for many miles in Peruvian territory, and offer an outlet to the east by way of the Amazon. One of the most striking of the natural features of Peru is Lake Titicaca on the boundary between Peru and Bolivia and on the colonial highway between Lima and Buenos Aires. This lake, about eighty miles long and forty miles wide, lies at an altitude of over twelve thousand feet above sea level and is one of the natural wonders of the continent.

Population. The population of Peru is no less a matter of divergent estimates than is the area. It was officially estimated in 1917 at 4,500,000, but the last census (1876) gave the population as 2,660,881, and there is little basis for an accurate estimate of the increase since that time. Of this population about fourteen per cent were listed as white, fifty-eight per cent Indian, and twenty-five per cent half-breeds. About two per cent were negroes and about the same number of Asiatics, which latter have constituted a large part of the limited immigration. As is characteristic of most of the Latin-American countries, the white population fills the government offices and the professions while the Indian and half-breed population do the manual labor and constitute the rank and file of the army. But in Peru, as elsewhere, there is no rigid race barrier excluding those of mixed blood from attaining high positions in the state or society. The Indians, though united by the common Quichua language are of the greatest variety in civilization, character, and capacity for progress. Those of the eastern slopes are in large part wholly uncivilized.

Constitution and Government

Peru is governed under the Constitution framed in 1919 and effective on January 18, 1920, the most recent, therefore, of Latin-American constitutions. This Constitution, though based for the most part on the instrument of 1860 which it superseded, introduced some significant changes.[1] By definition of the Constitution itself the government is unitary, and there has never been any serious agitation for the adoption of the federal form in Peru, though the recent Constitution has made provision for some measure of decentralization in the establishment of regional legislatures for the north, center, and south of the republic.

The Bill of Rights. The constitutional safeguards usually included under the head of the bill of rights in our constitutions are in Peru classified under three divisions: National Guaranties;

[1] For a discussion of the innovations contained in this instrument see an article by H. G. James, "Constitutional Tendencies in Latin America" in *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* (March, 1921), Vol. LII, No. 3, page 244.

Individual Guaranties; and Social Guaranties. Under the first head are included such provisions as the prohibition of hereditary offices or privileges and personal immunities; the requirement that taxes shall be imposed only by law; the prohibition of the emission of bills of credit as legal tender, save in time of war; the prohibition of the drawing of multiple salaries by government officials; the right of any Peruvian to complain to the Congress, the Executive, or any other competent authority of violations of the Consitution; the prohibition of special laws discriminating between persons; the prohibition of retroactive laws; and the abolition of the death penalty save for murder or treason. An interesting provision requires the income tax to be progressive.

The individual guaranties include the customary prohibition of slavery; the requirement of warrants for arrest or for entering the home; the rights of petition and of peaceable assembly; secrecy of correspondence; liberty of the press; and freedom of conscience. The Constitution of 1860 prohibited the public exercise of any religion other than the Roman Catholic one, but this was one of the main issues involved in the elimination in 1919 of President José Pardo, who refused to promulgate the law passed by Congress establishing liberty of worship, and the new Constitution omits the prohibition on the exercise of any other religion. It retains, however, the declaration that the nation professes the Roman Catholic religion and the state protects it. Trial by jury is not guaranteed by the Constitution. The individual guaranties in Peru are not subject to suspension, as they are in most of the Latin-American countries.

Of more particular interest than the national and individual guaranties, which were reincorporated without little change from the former Constitution, are the so-called social guaranties, which are wholly new and which follow the lines laid down in the Mexican Constitution of 1917, and the Uruguayan Constitution of 1919. The more important of these provisions include—besides the inviolability of private property, the right to compensation when taken for a public use, and the prohibition on entails—the recognition of freedom of association and of con-

tract, the vesting in the state of all mineral property, the prohibition on the acquisition by foreigners of real property within fifty kilometers of the national frontiers, and a number of provisions relating to capital and labor and their relations to each other. These last named provisions are not nearly so detailed as in the Mexican Constitution, but they authorize legislation establishing maximum hours of labor, minimum wages, and workmen's compensation, and make arbitration compulsory in conflicts between capital and labor. Monopolies and trusts are forbidden, free compulsory primary education is guaranteed for all children over six years of age, and secondary and higher instruction are to be provided by the central government. The Constitution also authorizes the granting of extraordinary powers to the Executive to reduce the cost of the necessities of life. Finally, the protection of the native race and its development and progress are expressly recognized as duties of the state. Foreigners are placed in the same position as regards their property as natives, with the exception noted above, and as in Mexico, they are excluded from resorting to diplomatic claims.

Citizenship and the Franchise. Native Peruvians include all persons born within the republic, and children of Peruvian parents born abroad, provided their names are inscribed in the civil register, either by act of their parents during their minority, or by their own act upon attaining majority. Naturalized Peruvians include those foreigners more than twenty-one years of age, resident in the country for more than two years, who have been duly inscribed in the civil register. Military service is compulsory for every male citizen. Active citizenship is enjoyed by every male Peruvian who is either married or over twenty-one years of age. But the right to vote is conditional upon ability to read and write, and inscription in the military and electoral register.[1] Direct popular vote is made the basis of all elections by the Constitution.

[1] Statistics as to literacy are not readily available, but most of the Indian and mestizo population would be excluded by the requirement of ability to read and write. In 1919 the total number of pupils in the public elementary schools was less than 200,000, out of a presumable population of scholastic age of at least four times that number.

The Legislative Power. The customary bicameral principle is followed in the organization of the Peruvian National Congress, the two chambers being designated as the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, respectively, the number of members in each being determined by the Constitution itself and requiring a constitutional amendment for any change.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of 110 members elected by direct popular vote for a term of five years, by the process of total renewal, at the same time and for the same term as the Senators and the President. Deputies, like Senators, may not resign unless they are re-elected after serving one term. The qualifications for election as Deputy include native and active citizenship, twenty-five years of age, and nativity or two years' residence in the department in which he is elected.[1] The disqualifications, which are the same for both Deputies and Senators, exclude the President, Ministers of State, prefects, subprefects, and governors, unless they have resigned their offices two months before the election; the judges and prosecuting officers of the courts; public employees subject to removal by the President; members of the active military; and ecclesiastical officers. Members of the legislature may not accept any lucrative public employment, national or local, without vacating their seats, except only to serve as Ministers or on commissions of an international character, with the consent of their respective chambers. The special privileges of the Chamber of Deputies involve the power to impeach before the Senate the President, the members of either chamber, the Ministers of State, and the judges of the Supreme Court for violations of the Constitution or for any punishable official offense.

The Senate consists of thirty-five members elected in the same manner, at the same time, for the same period as the Deputies. The qualifications for Senator include native and active citizenship and thirty-five years of age, the disqualifications being the

[1] The former requirement of an income of 500 pesos for Deputies and 1,000 pesos for Senators, or of belonging to some scientific profession has been continued in the new Constitution.

same as for Deputies. The special powers of the Senate include the trial of impeachment charges brought by the Chamber of Deputies, the decision of conflicts of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court and the Executive, and the approval of executive nominations to diplomatic posts and to the Council of State.

The Congress meets in regular session each year on July 28th for a period of at least ninety and at most one hundred and twenty days. Special sessions may be called when deemed necessary by the Executive for not longer than forty-five working days. Sixty per cent of the membership of each chamber constitutes a quorum. Members of the chambers enjoy the usual immunities from arrest and from prosecution for acts in the performance of their duties. Each chamber controls its own organization and expenses, and meets separately from the other except for the opening of the sessions, the ratification of treaties, and the exercise of the electoral functions to be noted hereafter.

The powers of the Congress are enumerated under twenty-five different heads and include, besides the usual powers of legislation, various special attributes which are worth noting. Thus the Congress acts in an electoral capacity in choosing the judges and prosecuting officers of the Supreme Court and in electing the successor to the President in case of permanent vacancy. It acts in a judicial capacity in bringing and trying impeachment charges. It shares executive power in the ratification of all treaties and in the declaration of war, in the approval of nominations to the higher military and naval offices, and in the granting of amnesties and pardons. The Congress accepts or rejects the resignation of the President and passes upon his permanent or temporary incapacity to exercise the duties of his office. Politically as well as legally, the Congress is given control over the Ministers, for it may not only remove them from office by impeachment proceedings, but by express provision of the new Constitution Ministers must resign when either of the chambers passes a vote of want of confidence against them. This is, therefore, the second instance among Latin-American states of the adoption of the principles of parliamentary government, and the first instance of

its express enunciation in the Constitution. The period of its operation has, however, been too brief to permit of the formation of any conclusions as to the manner in which it is going to work out. It constitutes, however, one of the most striking instances of the tendency manifested in the new Constitution of Peru to reduce the powers of the Executive and to increase those of the Congress. As in Chile and the other unitary states of Latin America, the enumeration of the powers of Congress constitutes a limitation on those of the Executive.

The initiative in legislation may be assumed either by the members of the legislature, by the Executive, by the regional legislatures,[1] or in judicial matters, by the Supreme Court. In the process of passing bills we note again some of the peculiar features already mentioned in legislation in Chile. When a bill is sent from one chamber to the other and is there rejected or amended, the chamber of origin must either accept the action of the revising chamber or reject it by a vote of two-thirds of its total membership. If the chamber of origin does so insist upon its original bill, it goes to the Executive as an act of the legislature, unless the revising chamber insists upon its opposition or amendments by a like two-thirds vote, in which latter case the bill fails. When a law is approved by the Congress it goes to the Executive for promulgation and execution. If he has objections to the bill, he sends it back within ten days to the Congress with his comments. If again passed by both chambers it becomes a law without his approval; if not, it may not be again considered in the same legislative period. In case the President fails to promulgate and order the execution of a law duly passed by Congress and does not return the same to Congress with his objections, as required by the Constitution, the president of the Congress (chosen alternately, from the presidents of the chambers, but for this purpose the president of the chamber of origin being designated proceeds to promulgate and order the execution of the law.

The budget, prepared by the Minister of Finances, and

[1] See below, page 251.

approved by the Council of Ministers must be passed by the Congress, and on no account may the government be carried on without it. If the definitive budget is not approved before the beginning of the new year, the Congress must determine that provisionally either the budget of the preceding year or the one proposed by the government shall be operative from month to month.

Finally, the process of amending the Constitution differs to this extent from the ordinary legislative process that amendments may be passed only in regular sessions, must be approved in a second legislative session, and require a two-thirds vote of the membership in each chamber. As in Latin-American countries generally, no popular ratification of amendments is required.

The Constitution of 1860 originally made provision for a permanent committee of the Congress, such as is found to-day in Chile, but this was abolished in 1874, and the new Constitution merely provides that each chamber shall select one or more committees on the proposal of the President to act during the recess of the chambers on matters that are left pending on adjournment.

The Executive Power. In the organization and powers of the Executive, the new Constitution of Peru shows some marked departures from the former instrument. Chief among these are the lengthening of the term from four to five years, the abolition of the two Vice-Presidents, and the creation of a Council of State, in addition to the fundamental change in the executive power involved in the establishment of the principle of the political responsibility of the Ministers already noted.

The President must be a native Peruvian, in active possession of his political rights, thirty-five years of age, and for ten years a resident of the republic. He is elected by direct popular vote, an absolute majority being required. He is not eligible for the term immediately following, nor may the person elected by Congress to fill a permanent vacancy in the presidency be a candidate for the next term. Ministers of State and members of the military in active service must have resigned their offices 120 days

before the election in order to be eligible for the place. In case of vacancy in the office, caused by the death, permanent physical or mental incapacity duly declared by the Congress, or resignation of the President accepted by the Congress, or by judicial decree pronouncing him guilty of treason, attack on the form of government, dissolution of the Congress, or suspension of its functions, the Congress elects his successor. The Council of Ministers governs *ad interim* in case of suspension of the President by reason of his assuming personal command of the public forces, by reason of temporary incapacity duly declared by the Congress, or by reason of being brought to trial for the offenses for which he may be removed from office.

The powers of the President, enumerated under twenty-one different heads in Article 121 of the Constitution, comprise legislative, executive, administrative, diplomatic, political and military powers. Under the first head he summons the Congress in regular and special sessions, attends the opening of the sessions, presents a message on the state of the republic, proposes measures and reforms, introduces bills, approves or vetoes bills enacted by the Congress, and promulgates the laws that have been duly enacted. Under the second head he executes the laws and resolutions of Congress and enjoys the power of issuing decrees, ordinances, regulations, and instructions for their better execution. He also enforces compliance with the judgments and findings of the judicial tribunals. Under the head of administrative powers the President enjoys a large appointing power, partly independent and partly shared with the Senate, including the power of ecclesiastical patronage and appointment. As diplomatic head of the state, he receives foreign ministers and admits foreign consuls, directs diplomatic negotiations and concludes treaties, subject to approval by the Congress. He must also approve or reject decrees of council and pontifical bulls, briefs, and rescripts, and enter into concordats with the Holy See, also with the approval of Congress. Among his political powers are the preservation of internal order and external security of the republic, and the calling of general and special elections. Finally,

as military head of the state, he organizes the land and military forces and assigns and disposes of them for the services of the republic. He may even take personal command of the public forces of the state, but in that case his powers as President are suspended during such time as he is in personal command.

From this partial enumeration of the powers expressly granted to the President, it is seen that he enjoys a very extensive jurisdiction. But all of his orders and decrees must be countersigned by the competent Minister before they have any legal effect. Of such Ministers, whose number and jurisdiction are determined by law, there are seven. The departments are: Interior; Foreign Affairs; Justice, Worship, and Instruction; Finance; War; Navy; and Public Works. They are appointed and removed by the President and receive a salary fixed by law. Jointly they constitute the Council of Ministers, and all Ministers are legally subject to impeachment for violations of the Constitution or for official acts made punishable by law, and are politically responsible jointly and severally to each of the chambers. The Ministers must present reports to the Congress concerning the condition of their departments and furnish at all times such information as may be demanded of this. They may introduce bills into Congress and may attend its debates, but may not be present when a vote is taken. Members of either chamber may be appointed as Ministers, but in that case their functions as members of the Congress are in suspension during the time they serve as Ministers.

In addition to the Council of Ministers, the Constitution of 1920 establishes a new executive organ in the Council of State. Such a body has been noted in the government of Chile and was introduced in Uruguay by the Constitution of 1919. But the provisions of the Peruvian Constitution as to this body are very brief and not self-executing, for aside from declaring that the Council of State shall consist of seven members nominated by the Council of Ministers with the approval of the Senate, it only provides that the cases in which the government should receive its opinion and those in which the government may not proceed contrary thereto shall be determined by law.

The Judicial Power. The Constitution provides for a Supreme Court at Lima, superior courts in the capitals of the departments, courts of the first instance in the capitals of the provinces, and justices of the peace in all towns. The judges and prosecuting officers of the Supreme Court are selected by the Congress from a list nominated by the government. The judges and prosecuting officers of the superior courts are appointed by the Executive from a double list prepared by the Supreme Court, and the judges of the inferior courts in like manner from lists prepared by the respective superior courts. The judges of the courts of first and second instance must be confirmed in their offices every five years by the Supreme Court.

Local Government. For purpose of internal administration the republic is divided into three regions, nineteen departments, and three littoral provinces. The departments are divided into 113 provinces, and these in turn into 875 districts. The administrative system is a highly centralized one, modeled closely on the French system, but there is a tendency to increase the measure of local autonomy. The three regional assemblies created by the new Constitution have jurisdiction over local matters, but their resolutions are subject to approval by the President, who is also charged with their enforcement. If the President disapproves of the resolutions passed by the regional assemblies, the Congress may enact them over his veto in the same manner provided for national laws. The regional legislatures in the short time of their existence have manifested special interest in the cause of public education.

At the head of each department and of the three littoral provinces there is a prefect appointed by the President. Each department has also a locally elected council; at the head of the provinces there are subprefects appointed in like manner, and each province has a locally elected council, which the Constitution declares shall be autonomous in the management of matters intrusted to it. The subprefect is made immediately subordinate to the prefect. At the head of the districts are governors appointed by the prefects and immediately subordinate to the subprefects.

Lieutenant governors may be provided within the districts where necessary, appointed by the subprefects and immediately subordinate to the governors. Municipal councils are provided in the places indicated by law. In addition to this hierarchy of administrative officials mediately or immediately dependent upon the President, there is the organization of the security police which is made immediately dependent upon him.

Finances and Functions of Government. The currency of Peru is based upon the *libra* or Peruvian pound, equivalent in ordinary circumstances to the English pound sterling, or $4.86 in United States money. The libra is divided into ten *soles,* and the *sol* into one hundred *centavos.* Peru is one of the few Latin-American countries that have adopted completely the gold standard, although owing to the extraordinary conditions created by the effect on commerce of the European war, a large issue of paper money had again to be resorted to. The chief sources of revenue for the national government are customs duties, the tax on spirits, and the tobacco and salt monopolies. The collection of taxes is intrusted by the government to two corporations, the National Tax Collecting Company and the National Salt Company, each of which charges a percentage of the taxes collected.

The total debt of Peru at the end of 1918 amounted to nearly six million pounds. During the administration of President Cáceres in 1889 the accumulated foreign debt, principal and interest, amounted to nearly 50,000,000 pounds. This debt was canceled in 1890 by an arrangement with the foreign bondholders, which turned over to the "Peruvian Corporation" the national railways, certain guano rights, mining privileges, land grants, and other privileges. This arrangement, though at the time of obvious benefit to both parties, was the cause of considerable friction between the government and the Peruvian Corporation and led in 1907 to a new contract which is now in force.

Public education is principally a matter of national concern and within the last few years numerous teachers and administrative officers for the educational system have been secured from

the United States. The army is small, about 11,000 officers and men, and is made up of volunteers and conscripts chosen by lot from among those subject to military duty. Impressment, formerly employed to conscript the forces of the government, is expressly forbidden by the Constitution. The navy is almost negligible, consisting of only three cruisers and a few minor craft. Naval officers from the United States have recently been secured to conduct the naval academy and reorganize the naval forces. The police and *gendarmerie* of the country amount to some 8000 men.

Political Parties and Issues

As in most of the other Latin countries, politics in Peru is largely in the hands of the small propertied and professional classes. The frequent recurrence of the same family names in the offices of President and of Ministers of State shows to what extent office holding in Peru is the prerogative of a few prominent families.

During a considerable period of Peruvian history, as has been seen, politics represented merely the struggle of rival factions for control of the government and its revenues, with the change from military to civil Presidents, the conflict between the military aristocracy and the professional and business interests terminated in favor of the latter, but while party designations such as *democratistas* and *civilistas* appeared there were no consistent or well-marked differences in program. In Peru the struggle between the Church and the anticlericals has continued down to more recent times, and the Church has succeeded in retaining its privileged position better there than in most of the other Latin-American states.

The development of the natural resources of the country, the improvement of sanitation (recently intrusted on a large scale to the late General Gorgas of the United States Army), the extension of the educational system, and the improvement of the condition of the Indians, are the chief problems confronting the government at present.

Summary of Economic Conditions in Peru

Commerce

Total Foreign Commerce of Peru in 1919 amounted to 39,103,262 pounds

Wool, alpaca and llama	4,842,800
Canada	2,011,617
Agricultural Machinery and Implements	1,675,827

Chief Article of Export in 1919:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Sugar, raw and refined	$40,392,797
Cotton	33,718,719
Copper, Silver, and Gold	23,390,830
Mineral Oils, crude and refined	16,136,745
Wool, alpaca and llama	4,842,800
Wool, sheep	3,085,036
Rubber	2,303,397
Vanadium	1,833,795

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports in 1919:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States of America	$60,746,277
Great Britain	41,024,932
Chile	15,705,751
Argentina	2,957,120
Bolivia	2,314,891
Canada	2,011,617
France	1,868,665

Chief Articles of Import in 1919:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Iron and Steel products except machinery	$ 3,772,143
Coal and Coke	3,186,665
Machine Tools	3,057,745
Cotton Textiles	2,845,627
Wheat	2,534,409
Jute (Bagging, burlap, and bags)	2,417,523
Lumber	1,994,821
Agricultural Machinery and Implements	1,675,827
All other Machinery	1,635,437
Woolen Textiles	1,445,568
Chemicals	1,409,410

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports in 1919:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States of America	$36,691,323
Great Britain	7,999,303
Chile	3,317,587
India	2,502,779
China	1,733,718
Japan	1,540,173

Communications. At the end of 1920 there were in operation 1,984 miles of railroad, chiefly owned by the government, but operated by the Peruvian Corporation under the contract entered into by the latter for assuming the foreign debt of Peru in 1890. The government is to receive fifty per cent of the net profits, after the service of the corporation's railway bonds is met. The

chief railways are the Central, running from Callao the port of Lima to Huancayo (a distance of 249 miles) and the Southern Railway from Mollendo on the Pacific to Puno on Lake Titicaca (324 miles). Aside from the shipping entering and clearing the Pacific ports of Peru, there is a line of steamers on Lake Titicaca operated also by the Peruvian Corporation. Ocean-going steamships reach Peru by way of the Amazon River and its tributaries, the principal port for commerce to the east being Iquitos on the Marañon, 2,500 miles from the mouth of the Amazon.

In 1917 there were 646 post offices and 263 telegraph offices, the total length of state telegraph lines being 7,849 miles. In 1919 there were 19 wireless stations in operation.

Products and Industries. The chief sources of national wealth are mining and agriculture. The total mineral output in 1919 was valued at $40,000,000, copper, petroleum, and silver being the principal articles. The principal crops of the country are sugar, cotton, and rice, raised by the aid of irrigation. Coffee, cocoa, and tobacco are also cultivated. The hide industry is large and increasing in importance.

Bolivia

BOLIVIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Beginnings of the Republic. Although Bolivia was the first country of South America to commence the struggle for independence, it was the last of those countries to rid itself of Spanish authorities. Early in 1809 a few influential Creoles had succeeded in deposing the Spanish officials in Charcas and La Paz, but the revolt was put down. From that time until 1825 Bolivia was the battlefield for royalists and revolutionists of almost the whole of Spanish South America. Bolivia had formed until 1776 a portion of the viceroyalty of Peru and was known as Upper Peru, having an audiencia of its own, established in 1559. In the year 1776 it was incorporated into the newly created viceroyalty of Buenos Aires, and was nominally a part of that jurisdiction when the movement for independence began. Indeed, it had sent representatives to the early congresses of la Plata

Provinces, but the Creoles of Upper Peru had no desire to come under the jurisdiction of the remote confederation of la Plata. The closing years of the revolutionary struggle united Upper Peru more closely with its earlier allegiance, but when independence was finally secured by the defeat of the last Spanish army under Olañeta the chiefs of Upper Peru were as disinclined to unite with Peru as with Argentina. Bolívar encouraged this attitude and on August 10, 1825, the new Republic of Bolivia was officially proclaimed in honor of the Liberator.

Not only did Bolívar give Bolivia an independent existence, but he presented it with a Constitution drawn up by his own hand, and with its first President in the person of General Sucre, the victor of Ayacucho, where was sounded the death knell of Spanish power in South America. The boundaries established for the new republic by Bolívar corresponded in general to those of the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Charcas, but their exact determination was not then known and was the cause of many subsequent difficulties with the neighboring countries.

Santa Cruz and His Successors (1825-1898). Soon after the departure of Bolívar from Peru, opposition developed against Sucre, both among the caudillos of Bolivia and among the chiefs at Lima, especially on the part of Santa Cruz. Sucre, deserted by his Colombian troops, bowed to the inevitable and yielded his place to General Santa Cruz in 1828. Under the forceful, but arbitrary government of Santa Cruz, some progress toward order and progress was made in Bolivia. But, ambitious to unite under his control Peru as well as Bolivia, he invaded the former in 1835 and united Bolivia with North and South Peru in a confederation that lasted until 1839. Defeated at the battle of Yungay, Santa Cruz was deprived of power in both Peru and Bolivia and the confederation was dissolved. The history of Bolivia following the overthrow of Santa Cruz was for decades a dreary repetition of anarchy and tyranny, succeeding each other with but little intermission. In the years from 1825 to 1898 there were more than sixty revolutions and six Presidents were assassinated. A few names stand out amidst the list of bloody tyrants,

as men who contributed to the advancement and improvement of the country. Ballivián, Linares, Baptista, Arce, relieve the monotony of a long succession of selfish and blood-thirsty dictators.

By the unfortunate War of the Pacific (1870-1883) Bolivia lost all access to the Pacific Ocean through the cession of Antofagasta to Chile, and by a treaty in 1903 with Brazil, Bolivia surrendered the rich rubber producing territory of the Acre. From 1825 to 1880 no less than ten constitutions were promulgated in Bolivia, the one promulgated in the last named year being still in force.

Present Conditions. Since 1899 when President Pando instituted civil in place of military government, the development of Bolivia has been marked, and on the whole orderly. But as late as July, 1920, the President was overthrown by revolution. Conditions in Bolivia, though not yet as stable as in the countries so far considered, are very evidently improving and give promise of reaching a degree of stability which fifty or even twenty-five years ago would have been considered practically unattainable.

GENERAL FEATURES OF BOLIVIA

Area and Topography. According to official estimates the area of Bolivia amounts to 708,195 square miles, which gives it third place among Latin-American republics. But this estimate includes territory that is the subject of dispute with Paraguay, and the *Statesman's Year Book* of 1922 gives the area as something over 500,000 square miles, which includes the territories in dispute. The most striking feature of Bolivia's geographical location is the fact that it is one of the two South American countries (the other being Paraguay) which has no seacoast. Prior to the War of the Pacific Bolivia had a narrow strip of coast along the Pacific south of Peru, and the loss of this outlet to the sea and its consequent position as a landlocked country have had a profound significance on the economic and diplomatic history of the country. In this respect Bolivia is in an even less advantageous position than is Paraguay, for while the latter possesses rivers which are navigable by large ships to the Atlantic,

the Bolivian rivers that drain into the systems of the Amazon and la Plata respectively afford no such outlet by water. The outlet through the Amazon, the affluents of which in Bolivia are navigable, is interrupted by the San Antonio Falls on the Madeira River in Brazil, around which a railroad has within recent years been constructed.

Bolivia is contiguous to Peru, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile, but except along part of the line with Chile the boundaries are artificial not natural ones. Bolivia consists of two pretty clearly defined divisions. The western portion lies in the Cordillera of the Andes and comprises about two-fifths of the total area. Besides the two principal mountain chains, containing some of the highest peaks in the Western Hemisphere, that run north and south through the western part of the country, the principal topographical feature of the country is the vast plateau of more than 40,000 square miles lying at an average altitude of 12,000 feet and containing much the greater part of the population of the country and most of the principal cities. The eastern portion of the country, sloping to the east into the basins of the Amazon and the Paraná consists chiefly of low-lying alluvial plains, swamps, and forest lands, and is practically uninhabited save for scattered tribes of uncivilized Indians.

Population. The population of Bolivia is estimated at a little less than 3,000,000, though the last census, that of 1900, enumerated only 1,744,568. Even at the larger figure Bolivia is the most thinly populated of any of the Latin-American republics, the density being less than four persons per square mile. As has been stated above, most of this population is concentrated on the plateau between the two main mountain ranges, while the eastern portion is almost uninhabited. The climate of the plateau, except for the extreme altitude, which renders it unsuitable to persons of weak hearts or lungs, is temperate or cold with little variation in the seasons. That of the lowland regions is tropical, with pronounced wet and dry seasons, all of the territory of Bolivia lying within the south tropical zone, practically between latitude 1° S. on the north to 2° S. on the south.

More than half of the population of Bolivia is pure Indian, divided into two principal tribes, the Quichuas and the Aymarás, the latter being by far the most numerous, and their language being spoken by three-fourths of the inhabitants even of La Paz, the principal city and actual seat of the government.[1] Besides the pure Indian population, the greater part of the remaining inhabitants are of mixed Indian and Spanish descent, the number of pure-blooded whites of Spanish descent being extremely small.[2] According to the Census of 1900 the white population was given as 12.7 per cent of the whole, but as elsewhere in Latin-America, the mestizo or half-breed is anxious to be accounted white if the Indian admixture is not too evident. Immigration has been very small, though the government has encouraged it, but the extreme altitudes of the mountains and the great plateau make these regions unsuitable or at least unattractive in European immigration, while the fertile but unhealthful lowlands to the east are equally unavailable. It is not to be expected, therefore, that any considerable immigration will modify the population either as to numbers or as to race in Bolivia, as it has done and probably will continue to do in Argentina, for instance. The preservation and improvement of the native stock, therefore, must be relied upon in Bolivia as in Peru to raise the standards of economic, social, and political life in the nation.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

The Successive Constitutions. The first Constitution of Bolivia, prepared in 1826 by Bolívar, was in some respects a remarkable document. The Constitution of the United States, which served as the immediate model for many of the first Latin-American constitutions, was abandoned in favor of the French Constitution prepared under the direction of Napoleon, of whom Bolívar was a great admirer. The franchise was limited by educational and occupational requirements and was exercised indirectly through electors corresponding somewhat to the device

[1] Legally the capital is at Sucre.

[2] Bryce wrote in 1913 that the white population was estimated at only 200,000, most of whom, however, have some Indian blood.

of the notables in France. The legislative power was apportioned among three distinct bodies, the Chamber of Tribunes, a designation taken also from the French Napoleonic Constitution, a Senate, and a Chamber of Censors. The latter served for life, and performed somewhat the same functions as the life members of the Napoleonic Senate in insuring the constitutionality of governmental action. The executive power, however, instead of being divided among three officers as in the French Constitution of 1799 was modeled on the French Executive as constituted after 1802, when Napoleon became consul for life.

This plan of government, which like the Napoleonic Constitution, had the appearance of democracy, but in fact made the Executive the center of power, lasted only so long as the influence of Bolívar and Sucre, and was superseded by a new Constitution in 1831, following more the conventional lines. The present Constitution, promulgated in 1880, is the tenth in the history of the republic. It was promulgated by President Campero, who succeeded Daza when the latter was overthrown in consequence of the unfortunate war with Chile in 1879.

Citizenship, the Suffrage, and Individual Rights. Bolivian nationality is acquired by birth or naturalization. All persons born in Bolivia and children born abroad of Bolivian parents in the service of the republic, or—a significant alternative—who emigrated for political reasons, are native Bolivians. Naturalized Bolivians include children of Bolivian parents born abroad, upon becoming domiciled in Bolivia, foreigners who after one year of residence declare their desire to become naturalized, and those upon whom Bolivian nationality is conferred by special act of the Chamber of Deputies. Citizenship, that is the right to vote and to hold office, is extended to male Bolivians of twenty-one years of age if unmarried, or eighteen if married, who can read and write, and who either own real estate or have an annual income of two hundred bolivianos.[1] Domestic servants are, however, excluded. In view of the great amount of illiteracy in Bolivia[2]

[1] The boliviano is equivalent to $.39 in U. S. Currency.

[2] In 1918 there were less than 60,000 pupils in the elementary schools, public and private, out of a total population estimated at nearly 3,000,000.

the requirement of ability to read and write if strictly enforced would exclude the great majority of voting age, while the property owning or income requirement, small as it is, and the exclusion of domestic servants eliminates still others, so that the franchise is perhaps as limited in Bolivia as in any country of Latin America.

The enumeration of individual rights and guaranties is very complete, and follows in general the principles already noted in other Latin-American countries. Liberty of conscience and of worship were not enumerated among these individual rights, however. In fact the Constitution of 1880 originally contained a prohibition on the public exercise of any religion except that of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church which was declared to be that recognized and supported by the state. But in 1905 this provision was changed to permit the public exercise of any other form of worship, though retaining the Roman Catholic faith as the religion of the state. In Bolivia, as in other Latin-American states, the President may, with the approval of the Council of Ministers, declare a state of siege in any portion of the republic and suspend the individual guaranties with regard to any persons charged of conspiring against the tranquillity of the republic. The Executive in such cases must report to the Congress at its next session in regard to the declaration of the state of siege and the actions taken by him thereunder.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Constitution divides the powers of government into the customary three divisions and declares that the independence of these three powers is the basis of the government. It also designates the government as unitary in character and democratic and representative in form.

The Legislative Power. The National Congress is bicameral, consisting of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The chambers must meet simultaneously and in the same place, a quorum being an absolute majority of the membership of each chamber. The members of Congress enjoy the usual freedom from protection for expressions of opinion in the discharge of

their duties and from arrest and prosecution during the legislative term. Members of Congress may not accept any office or appointment from the Executive save to the higher military or civil posts during time of war, and then only with suspension of their legislative duties. The Congress meets in regular session every year on August 6th for a period of sixty or, if necessary, ninety days. It may meet in special session either upon call of the Executive or upon resolution of a majority of both chambers.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of seventy-two members elected by direct vote of the people for a term of four years by a simple plurality, one-half of the number being renewed every two years. To be eligible for the office of Deputy, there are required Bolivian citizenship, by birth or by naturalization, requiring in the latter case five years' residence in the republic, twenty-five years of age, and an annual income of 400 bolivianos, derived from a profession, industry, or real property. The special functions of the Chamber of Deputies include the right to initiate legislation dealing with taxes, appropriations, military forces, and the President and Vice-President, judges of the Supreme Court, and the diplomatic agents for offenses committed in the discharge of their functions; and to elect the judges of the Supreme Court from triple lists submitted by the Senate.

The Senate consists of sixteen members, two from each department, elected by direct popular vote for six years, one-third retiring every two years. The qualifications for Senator are the same as those for Deputy save that thirty-five years of age are required and eight hundred bolivianos of income are necessary. Judicial sentence involving corporal punishment disqualifies for the office of Senator as well as for that of Deputy. The special functions of the Senate include the trial of impeachment charges brought by the Chamber of Deputies, conviction requiring a two-thirds vote; the nomination by triple lists of archbishops and bishops for appointment by the President, and of judges of the Supreme Court for selection by the Chamber of Deputies; the restoration to Bolivian nationality or citizenship of persons who have lost the same; the granting of permission to

Bolivians to accept foreign honors, titles, or offices; the selection of generals and colonels of the army from among triple lists submitted by the President: and the granting of rewards and public honors for services to the republic.

Bills may originate in either chamber, with the exceptions noted above, and may be introduced by the members or by the President. A bill passed in one chamber is sent to the other, which may accept or reject it or pass it with amendments. If rejected in the second chamber, the chamber of origin may repass it by two-thirds vote, in which case it shall be regarded as passed in the second chamber unless again disapproved by a two-thirds vote. In the latter case the bill fails and cannot be reintroduced in the same year. If the second chamber amends the bill, the chamber of origin may concur by a simple majority vote. If it fails to concur in the amendments, the two chambers meet in joint session and if the bill is there passed it is sent to the President for promulgation and execution. This, of course, gives the Chamber of Deputies a preponderance of power in the case of amended bills. A bill that passed both chambers is sent to the President for his signature. He must within ten days approve the bill or return it with his objections to the chamber of origin. If passed again in its original form by a two-thirds vote of both chambers the bill becomes a law without the approval of the President. The Constitution expressly recognizes the right of either chamber to pass a vote of censure of the purely political acts of the Executive, addressed to the respective Minister or Ministers, but there is no provision that the Ministers shall in such case modify their acts in accord with the vote of the Congress on pain of losing their offices. The provision in question does not, therefore, operate in practice to introduce the parliamentary form of government.

The powers of the Congress extend to the ordinary subjects of legislation intrusted to the legislative body in other countries. In addition the Congress must ratify all treaties; canvasses the votes for President and Vice-Presidents, and itself elects them in case no candidate has received an absolute majority of the

popular vote; declares war; audits the accounts of the executive branch of the government; and decides conflicts of jurisdiction between it and the Executive or the Supreme Court. The power to amend the Constitution rests with the Congress alone, the President having no power to veto such amendments. But they must be passed by a two-thirds vote of both chambers in two successive sessions of the Congress, between which elections for Deputies shall have occurred. The Congress is also given express power to interpret any provision of the Constitution.

The Executive Power. The executive power is vested in a President and two Vice-Presidents elected by direct popular vote for a term of four years, and they are not eligible for re-election until after an equal period has intervened. The qualifications for President or Vice-President are the same as those for Senator, and they receive a salary[1] which cannot be increased or diminished during their term of office. In case no candidate for President or for first or second Vice-President receives an absolute majority of the popular vote, the Congress shall proceed to select the one or the three receiving the largest popular vote. The power of the President includes the legislative, executive, diplomatic, administrative, and military powers common to most of the Latin-American executives. His decrees and orders—for he has the usual power of Latin-American Presidents to issue orders and decrees in execution of the laws—must be countersigned by the competent Minister, who assumes responsibility therefor. There are six Ministers as follows: Foreign Relations and Worship; Interior and Justice; Finance; Public Works and Industry; War and Colonization; Education and Agriculture. The number and jurisdiction of these Ministers is fixed by law and together they constitute the Council of Ministers, whose approval is requisite for the declaration of a state of siege.

The Judicial Power. The judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court of seven members chosen by the Chamber of Deputies from a triple list submitted by the Senate, in district courts in each department and in courts of first instance. The

[1] The salary of the President is 73,705 bolivianos.

judges of the district courts are selected by the Senate from a triple list of names submitted by the Supreme Court. The judges of the lower courts are appointed by the Supreme Court from a triple list submitted by the district courts. The Attorney-General is appointed for ten years by the President from among three candidates submitted by the Chamber of Deputies, and the district attorneys are appointed by the same authority from three names submitted by the Attorney-General. The President of the Supreme Court is given authority to insure the strict and full administration of justice throughout the republic. Trial by jury is employed only for offenses committed through the press.

Local Government. For purpose of internal administration the country is divided into departments, provinces, cantons, and municipalities. A highly centralized administrative system on the French model provides prefects for the departments, subprefects for the provinces, *corregidores* for the cantons, and *alcaldes* for the rural districts. The prefects and subprefects are appointed by the President, the corregidores by the prefects and the alcaldes by the subprefects, each class of officials being immediately subordinate to the next higher one. The capital of each department has a municipal council, locally elected, and in the provinces and their subdivisions there are municipal boards dependent upon the councils, while in the cantons there are municipal agents dependent upon the boards. The municipalities have control over the construction of public works, the imposition of municipal taxes with the approval of the Senate, the control of local primary schools and the inspection of schools supported by the state, police regulations, public charity, census and statistics, determination of the military quota, control over the state of food, and appointment of local officials upon nomination of the inferior courts.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The chief branches of expenditure of the government are in the departments of finances, war, and public works. The public debt of the country amounted in 1919 to about 69,000,000 bolivianos, of which some 39,000,000 bolivianos represented foreign debt,

chiefly owing in France. The permanent army consists of 4,187 officers and men, military service being compulsory for all male citizens. The state spent something over 3,000,000 bolivianos for educational purposes in 1918. The total expenditures in 1919 amounted to nearly 40,000,000 bolivianos. The revenues are derived chiefly from customs duties and liquor taxes.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ISSUES

Of democracy, in the sense in which we conceive it in this country, there is as yet little evidence in Bolivia. Indeed, the country may be said to have barely emerged from the area of military dictators. Politics is the concern of the very limited military and professional classes and changes of government turn upon personalities rather than issues. The contest between clericals and anticlericals has been bitter in Bolivia and is still an issue. The diplomatic difficulties of Bolivia due to her hemmed-in position and lack of access to the sea have played a prominent part in the overthrow and establishment of governments there, the recent overthrow of the Guerra administration in 1920 having been attributed in part to his having favored Chile rather than Peru in a proposed settlement of the Tacna-Arica difficulty and the acquisition by Bolivia of a seaport on the Pacific. The Congress of Bolivia in 1920 voted to submit the question of Bolivia's claim to access to the sea to the League of Nations.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN BOLIVIA

Commerce

Foreign Commerce of Bolivia in 1918 was valued at	$84,820,104
Imports " " " " were " "	13,601,092
Exports " " " " " " "	71,219,012
Chief Imports of Bolivia in 1918:	Value in Bolivianos ($0.39)
Manufactures	16,229,072
Food Products and Beverages	8,957,368
Raw and Slightly Wrought Material	7,022,630
Live Animals	2,046,632
Principal Countries of Origin of Imports:	Value in U. S. Gold
United States	$ 4,411,372
Chile	3,151,465
Peru	1,703,710
Great Britain	1,616,539
Argentina	1,481,908
Brazil	401,397

Chief Exports of Bolivia in 1918:	Value in Bolivianos ($0.39)
Raw Material (mostly tin, other ore, and rubber)	172,550,060
Gold and Silver	7,699,744
Live Animals	1,556,030
Manufactured Articles	692,088
Food Products	114,928
Principal Countries of Destination of Exports:	**Value in U. S. Gold**
Great Britain	$35,500,841
United States	29,636,799
Chile	3,733,995
France	1,078,324
Argentina	867,755

Bolivian commerce passes chiefly through Mollendo in Peru and Arica and Antofagasta in Chile, though her rubber is sent largely by way of the river route through the Amazon.

Communications. In 1921 there were in operation 1401 miles of railway, with 256 miles under construction. The main lines are the Antofagasta and Bolivia Railway, from the former Bolivian port on the Pacific to La Paz (735 miles), the Arica-La Paz line built by the Chilean government (of which 186 miles are in Bolivia) and the Pan-American Railroad from the Peruvian frontier to the boundaries with Argentina, a distance of 529 miles. The line from Guaqui on the Peruvian frontier to La Paz was sold by the government in 1910 to the Peruvian Corporation which operates most of the Peruvian railways. Otherwise the railways are almost all government enterprises. The steamers on Lake Titicaca which forms part of the boundary with Peru are also operated by the Peruvian Corporation. The rivers of eastern Bolivia have a total length navigable for steamers of light draft of about 12,000 miles.

There were in 1919, 427 post offices, some 4,000 miles of telegraphs serving all the departmental capitals, a number of wireless stations, and some 22,000 telephones.

Products and Industries. The products of Bolivia are chiefly mineral, the most important product being tin. Next to tin the most important product of Bolivia is rubber, the annual export value of which is about $5,000,000. About 5,000,000 acres of land are estimated to be under cultivation for agricultural products, most of which are used locally. Coffee, cocoa, and quina are raised for export. Of manufacturing industries there are almost none.

CHAPTER VIII

VENEZUELA—COLOMBIA—ECUADOR

Venezuela

VENEZUELA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Early Revolutionary Movements. The vote of July 5, 1811, by a congress composed of delegates from seven provinces of the captaincy-general of Venezuela in favor of independence from Spain, marked practically the first action of its kind in Spanish America.[1] Venezuela was at that time a captaincy-general under the jurisdiction of the viceroyal of New Granada, an audiencia having been created at Caracas in 1786. On December 21st of the same year the Congress framed the first Constitution of Venezuela, federal in character, and providing a triumvirate as executive. But the revolution was premature, considerable portions of the captaincy-general were not in sympathy with the movement, and the energetic action of the Spanish forces, aided by a terrible earthquake that devastated the revolted provinces and afforded the loyalist priests an opportunity of convincing the superstitious masses that God was opposed to the impious rebellion, caused its speedy collapse. One year after the declaration of independence, the first revolution had been suppressed.

The revolutionary movement was then carried on by Bolívar with varying success, operating against the Venezuelan loyalists chiefly from the viceroyalty of New Granada. After the decisive defeat of the Spaniards at Boyacá, in 1819, Bolívar announced the union of Venezuela with New Granada into the Republic of Colombia. The first Constitution of the new union was promulgated in October, 1821, with Bolívar, the Liberator, as Presi-

[1] A revolutionary assembly in Paraguay had renounced allegiance to Spain on June 11th preceding the action in Venezuela.

dent. Meanwhile the Spanish forces in Venezuela had been crushed at Carabobo (June 24, 1821). Aflame with his vision of a South-American Federation under his control, Bolívar led his armies into the presidency of Quito and incorporated it into the Republic of Colombia. He then proceeded into Lower and Upper Peru, both of which he united under his dictatorship. But dissatisfaction with Bolívar's schemes for a centralized government and jealousy of the dictator himself resulted in a movement against the union with New Granada and against the supremacy of the Liberator, which culminated, under the leadership of Páez, in the resignation of Bolívar and the separation of Venezuela from Colombia in 1830. Páez was chosen dictator and a new Constitution, reviving the federal form, was adopted for the United States of Venezuela.

Amid general confusion, universal distrust and jealousy, and dangers from without and from within, Páez served as President from 1831 to 1835 and established domestic peace, financial order, political conciliation, and economic progress.[1] He supported his successor, Dr. Vargas, was re-elected President in 1838, and controlled the administration of President Soublette, who succeeded him in 1843. His government, though conducive to order and material progress, was an oligarchy of the land-holding classes, inherently conservative. A liberal movement led by Guzmán was defeated in 1846 and the oligarchic conservative *régime* was perpetuated in the administration of Monagas, the choice of Páez. But a liberal reaction had begun even among the ruling classes and Páez was defeated and exiled by Monagas, who abandoned the Conservatives that put him in power and sided with the Liberals or Federalists. Monagas and his brother ruled the country successively until 1858. A period of conflict, revolution, and anarchy followed and a centralist Constitution in 1857 was followed by a liberal or federalist Constitution in 1858, to be replaced in turn by a new Constitution in 1864 under the presidency of Falcón, conceding an even greater degree of independence to the provinces.

[1] Calderón, *Latin America*, page 102.

A period of virtual anarchy followed and was not terminated until Guzmán Blanco overthrew José Monagas, the son of the Monagas, who overcame Falcón. Guzmán Blanco declared himself dictator in 1870, was installed as constitutional President in 1873, and virtually reigned over Venezuela until 1889. Ruling with an iron hand, disregarding the federal nature of the government established by the Constitution of 1864, which was superseded by new instruments in 1874 and 1881, Guzmán Blanco nevertheless contributed much to orderly progress of the country in a material way, and frowned upon all official excesses except his own. He was hailed as the "Illustrious American" and the "Regenerator of Venezuela." But the opposition to Guzmán Blanco was steadily increasing and culminated in his overthrow by ambitious chiefs in 1889, ushering in another period of anarchy that lasted until Castro assumed the dictatorship in 1899.

Crespo, Castro and Gómez. In 1895, under the presidency of Crespo, occurred the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, which provoked the interference of President Cleveland of the United States and the invocation of the Monroe Doctrine in a new form, threatening a rupture between the United States and Great Britain, but ultimately being admitted to arbitration. Castro, domineering, unscrupulous, brave, and ambitious, succeeded in maintaining himself in power for ten years, in spite of, or perhaps because of, his provocation of European powers. An armed intervention by the naval forces of England, Germany, and Italy in 1903 occasioned a second protest on the part of the United States, which nearly precipitated hostilities with the German naval force, owing to the refusal of the German Kaiser to join with Great Britain and Italy in resorting to arbitration.

The dictatorship of Castro terminated in 1909 when the Vice-President, General Gómez, headed a bloodless revolution while Castro was in Europe. Gómez was elected constitutional President in 1910 and again in 1915 after having suppressed several insurrectionary movements. New Constitutions had been promulgated for Venezuela in 1893 under Crespo and in 1901 and

1904 under the direction of Castro. In 1914 there was adopted the Constitution under which the country is now governed.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. Venezuela lies at the extreme northern end of South America and is the only republic of that continent that lies wholly north of the equator. The area is variously estimated, as in most other Latin-American states, but is approximately 400,000 square miles.[1] Venezuela is bounded on the north by the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, on the west by Colombia, on the south by Brazil and on the east by British Guiana. The limits of this state are marked to a greater extent than is true of most of the other states so far considered by natural boundaries, that is by rivers and mountains, but there was at the time of independence and for many years afterward the same uncertainty as to the detailed boundaries which existed in the other countries of Latin America. Three or four outstanding features of the topography must be noted, which modify somewhat the consequences naturally flowing from its tropical location. Most striking of the physical features is the great basin of the Orinoco River and its tributaries, which flowing from west to east traverse practically the entire length of the country and divide it into two unequal portions. In this low-lying basin are the great *llanos* or plains, almost treeless, but covered with grasses and well suited to grazing. Though the climate is tropical with a pretty well defined season of heavy rainfall, the region of the llanos is the healthiest portion of the country. The Orinoco is navigable for ocean-going steamers as far as Ciudad Bolívar, a distance of some 370 miles, and with its tributaries furnishes nearly 4,000 miles of waterways navigable for smaller steamers. The mountain ranges fall into several distinct groups, the principal ranges being the Parima range on the Brazilian boundary, and two extensions of the Andes in the northwest. A lower

[1] The *Encyclopedia of Latin America* and the descriptive pamphlet of the Pan-American Union, give the area as 393,976 square miles while the *Statesman's Year Book* estimates it at 398,594 square miles.

range of hills known as the Caribbean range parallels the shores of the sea of the same name, leaving a narrow coastal plain of varying width. At elevations above 2,000 feet the temperate regions are found, well suited, especially in the north and northwest, to agriculture and to settlement by the Caucasian race. Above 7,000 feet begins the *tierra fria,* or cold zone, where vegetation is sparse. South and east of the Orinoco is the heavily forested region of Venezuela, known as the Guiana highlands. The coast line has a total length of over 2,000 miles, well dotted with bays and harbors. The most important of these bays is Lake Maracaibo in the extreme northwest, covering an area of 8,000 square miles and entered by ocean-going steamers through the Gulf of Venezuela.

Population. The population of Venezuela was given as 2,323,527 by the last census (1891) and was officially estimated in 1919 as 2,852,614, or a fraction over seven per square mile. Of this population about ten per cent are described as white, chiefly of Spanish descent, and about seven per cent mestizo or part white and part Indian, Venezuela having probably the largest percentage of mestizos of any South-American state.[1] Aboriginal Indians in an uncivilized state are found to some extent on the northwest frontier and in the forests of the southeast and south, and negroes and mulattoes are to be found in relatively small numbers in the coastal lowlands and the river valleys. Immigration is very small, in recent years about 10,000 a year, and is nearly equaled by emigration. Much the greater part of the population of the country lives in the portion north of the Orinoco, and nearly all the more important cities, as well as a large portion of the population are to be found along the northern strip contiguous to the seacoast.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

The United States of Venezuela is governed under the Constitution promulgated on June 13, 1914. This was the thirteenth

[1] Enock, *The Republics of South and Central America* (New York, 1913), page 369.

Constitution of the country, counting those adopted during the union with New Granada. It is the third of the federal states found in South America and presents, therefore, a study of particular interest in comparison with the United States of America.

Federal Features of the Government. The Captaincy-General of Venezuela began its existence as an independent state, as has been seen, under a constitution framed by representatives of seven provinces, on the federal principle. But these provinces had no separate existence under Spanish rule, being merely administrative subdivisions of the captaincy-general. The revolutionary *junta* which in April, 1810, had been chosen by an open *cabildo* in Caracas to succeed to the powers of the deposed captain-general, acted for the captaincy-general as a whole and created within it certain administrative departments. The first governmental authority that succeeded to the powers of Spanish officials was, therefore, of a unitary nature. The Congress summoned by the *junta* was, however, composed of representatives of the districts, and the Constitution framed in the following year adopted the federal plan, in spite of the opposition of both Miranda and Bolívar. The source of the powers of the component parts of the federation of Venezuela differed, therefore, from the circumstances of the formation of the government of the United States of America in that here the Continental Congress itself was the creature of existing revolutionary governments in the separate colonies, whereas in Venezuela a central revolutionary authority for the whole captaincy-general called into being a body composed of representatives of the administrative subdivisions.

So far as the distribution of powers between states and nation was concerned, however, the Venezuelan Constitution of 1811 followed in general the lines laid down by the United States Constitution of 1787, according more power, if anything, to the component parts of the federation and weakening the central government by the adoption of a plural executive, a device which had been discussed and discarded by the American convention

of 1787. The practical suppression of the revolutionary movement, however, made this instrument nothing more than a paper constitution, and during the union with New Granada in the Republic of Colombia, 1819-1830, the centralized scheme of government favored by Bolívar superseded the federal principle, and the whole of Venezuela was little more than an administrative district of Great Colombia. With the dissolution of Great Colombia in 1830, however, the federal principle in Venezuela was again recognized in the Constitution of September 22, 1830, particularism becoming even more pronounced than before. It is not possible in this brief discussion to trace the oscillations of centralization and federalism in the disturbed half century that followed. Constitutions were either ignored or made over to suit the factions in power. Under strong and successful Presidents, the rights of the individual states were practically extinguished by the power of the dictators. Under weaker Presidents the individual states assumed a virtual independence under cover of general anarchy and disorder. But so far as constitutional declarations are concerned, the federal principle definitely triumphed over the principle of centralization and is conserved in the present instrument.

The United States of Venezuela consists of twenty states, two territories, and a Federal District. The Constitution designates the states as autonomous, retaining full sovereignty so far as not delegated to the central government, and bound to defend against all violence their own independence and the integrity of the union. In their character as repositories of all powers not expressly denied to them or delegated to the national government, the states of Venezuela are, therefore, in the same position as the members of our own Union, though those powers in their origin must be regarded as themselves delegated rather than inherent. The Constitution expressly confers upon the states the power to organize their internal governments and administration, in conformity, however, with certain definite fundamental principles setting forth in great detail the relative jurisdictions conferred upon the state and the nation respectively.

As regards their governmental organization the states are bound to adopt a form somewhat tautologically designated as popular, elective, federal, representative, responsible, and alternative, based upon constitutions framed in accordance with the principles enumerated in the federal compact. The somewhat curious use of the term "federal" with regard to the organization of the states themselves apparently refers to the broad measure of autonomy guaranteed to the districts and the municipal councils. These latter are insured independence over against the political power of the state as regards the administration of their finances and local concerns, and are accorded the full power of local taxation, subject only to the limitations on the taxing power of the states and of the nation established by the Constitution. Only in case of foreign war or internal disturbance may the executive power of the state assume the direction of local affairs and finances, with the consent of the legislature or of the supreme court of the state if the legislature is not in session. Moreover, the states are bound to adopt the principle of the direct secret popular vote for the election of municipal councils, state legislatures, and Deputies in the National Congress, and of the indirect secret vote for the choice of the other elective officials. The Constitution prescribes, furthermore, that the term of office for all state officials shall be three years. Special sources of revenue are reserved by the Constitution to the states, including a designated portion of the import duties, the revenues from mines and public lands, a portion of the tax on spirits, the tax on the exploitation of natural products, and local stamp taxes.

The states are expressly charged with the duty of enforcing the Constitution and laws of the Union and the legal decrees and orders of federal authorities, and the Constitution expressly limits the classes of federal officers and employees that may reside and perform governmental acts within the states to those connected with the revenues; public instruction; posts, telegraphs, and telephones; sanitation; the administration of mines, public lands and liquor excises; and garrisons and guards of public properties. These latter are restricted to the exercise of powers within and in con-

nection with the properties in their care, and remain subject to the laws of the state in which they reside and must be withdrawn and replaced by others upon demand of the state, upon valid reason being shown.

The states are forbidden to enter into agreements of any sort with foreign nations or to secede from the union. They are obliged to cede to the federal government the lands necessary for military and naval works and for public buildings, highways, and other works. The jurisdiction of the federal government extends over the territories, the federal district, and the islands in the Caribbean Sea. It includes for the whole territory of the nation such matters as posts, telegraphs, and telephones; maritime, coastwise, and river navigation, including piers; national highways, which comprise all roads extending beyond the limits of a single state; customs duties (export duties being prohibited both to states and to the nation); the control of education, free and compulsory primary instruction and the establishment of schools of arts and sciences being imposed as an obligation on the states; the organization and control of the military and naval forces of the country; the declaration and conduct of war; the conduct of foreign relations and the making of treaties; the coinage of money; the levying of taxes; and the jurisdiction of the Federal Supreme Court over controversies involving two or more states and treason or infraction of the Federal Constitution and laws. The states organize their own judiciary but are required to observe uniformity as regards substantive law and procedure, whether civil, commercial, or penal, and the Federal Congress is given express power to enact general codes.

In the organization of the national authorities the federal principle is given effect in the representation of each state, of the federal district and of such of the territories as attain the quota of 35,000 inhabitants, by at least one deputy, in the equal representation of the states in the Senate, and in the representation of each of seven groups of states by one member of the Supreme Court chosen by the Congress. Finally, in the amending process, the states through their legislatures may take the

initiative, provided three-fourths of the states request such action, and all amendments proposed as a result of such action must have the approval of a majority of the states. In the Congress amendments so proposed by the states are adopted by the process of ordinary legislation and must then be formally ratified by a majority of the states. On the other hand, if the Congress of its own initiative passes amendments to the Constitution, these must be ratified by action of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. In this respect, therefore, the individual states in Venezuela are accorded more influence than in Brazil and in Argentina, and are in much the same position as the states in the American Union.

Citizenship, the Suffrage, and Individual Rights. Natural-born Venezuelans include all persons born in the country and the children of Venezuelans, wherever born. Venezuelans by naturalization include children born abroad of naturalized Venezuelans, who after attaining majority become domiciled in Venezuela and indicate their desire to be Venezuelans; all persons born in any of the Hispanic-American countries who become residents of Venezuela and express their desire to become Venezuelans; and foreign women who marry Venezuelans; naturalization of other foreigners occurs by registration with the proper local authority and upon publication by the Federal Executive after receipt of the official copy of the inscription. The right to vote and to hold office is enjoyed by all male Venezuelans twenty-one years of age, who possess the qualifications demanded by the Constitution. Citizenship is federal and all citizens enjoy equal rights and owe identical duties throughout the nation as a whole, subject to no limitations except those established by the Federal Constitution and laws. The Constitution guarantees to all Venezuelans the fundamental rights commonly found enumerated in all Latin-American constitutions. Among these may be mentioned especially liberty of instruction and liberty of worship, both of which are enjoyed, however, subject to regulation by law and to supervision by the Federal Executive. Trial by jury is not among the fundamental rights enumerated, conforming to

the general rule in Latin-American states, but the death penalty is forbidden. As in Latin America elsewhere, the personal privileges and immunities may be suspended by the President in case of war or internal disorder, save that the prohibition of the death penalty may not be suspended.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of Venezuela recognizes in express terms the division of federal powers into the three fundamental divisions of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.

The Legislative Power. The Congress of the United States of Venezuela consists of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The former consists of sixty-eight members and an equal number of alternates, chosen by direct popular vote for a period of three years, all being elected at the same time. Each state and the federal district are represented on the basis of population, in the ratio of one deputy for each thirty-five thousand inhabitants or fraction thereof amounting to more than fifteen thousand, Indians living in a savage state not being counted. Any male citizen over twenty-one years of age is eligible. The Chamber of Deputies enjoys as special powers by the Constitution the right to elect the Attorney-General of the nation with two alternates, and the right to pass a vote of censure on the Ministers. This latter provision apparently is intended to establish the principle of parliamentary government, for the Constitution expressly declares that upon such vote the Ministers in question will relinquish their posts. But this provision is seemingly negatived by the character assigned by the Constitution to the Ministers as the organs of the President, who has complete power of appointment and removal. In practice at any rate, the President, though elected by the Congress, is the sole authority to whom the Ministers are responsible. It is to be noted that the power of impeachment, usually accorded to the lower chamber of the legislature in the Latin-American states, is not conferred in Venezuela upon the Chamber of Deputies.

The Senate consists of forty members, two elected by the

legislatures of each of the twenty states, for a period of three years, the total membership being renewed at once. Unlike the Senates in Brazil and in Argentina the Venezuelan upper chamber contains no members from the federal district, though the latter is represented in the Chamber of Deputies. Native citizenship and thirty years of age are required for Senators. The Senate enjoys as special powers the submission to arbitration of boundary controversies between the states; the approval of gratuities, offices, or honors, offered by foreign nations to federal officials; and the approval of promotions above the rank of colonel in the army or captain in the navy.

The chambers and their members enjoy the customary powers, privileges, and immunities accorded in other states. They sit in joint session for the election of President, members of the Supreme Court, and other officers whose selection may be intrusted to Congress; for considering the resignation of the President; for consideration of the annual message of the President; for examining and acting on the reports and accounts submitted by the Ministers; for the admission of new states; and for the selection each year of a commander-in-chief of the national army. By law or upon demand of one of the chambers, they may sit jointly for other purposes also. Otherwise, they meet separately for their legislative functions. These include, besides the customary powers of legislation as to finances, the power to enact national codes; approval of all treaties and conventions (which, by the Constitution, must contain a clause providing for the settlement or disputes thereunder by arbitration); approval of concessions in mines, public lands, means of transportation, or other matters of national interest; and the declaration of war. The process of legislation in the chambers presents no novel features of importance in Venezuela. But contrary to the otherwise universal practice in Latin America, the Constitution of Venezuela does not give the President any power of veto. A law duly passed by the Congress must be sent to the President for publication within fifteen days in the *Gaceta Oficial*. But if he fails so to publish it and to order its enforcement, the law

comes into full force at the end of the stated period, none the less. The Congress meets annually in regular session for seventy days and in special session upon call of the President.

The Executive Power. The executive power in Venezuela is vested in a President and his Ministers of State. The President must be a native-born Venezuelan, not a member of the clergy, thirty years of age or more, and in full possession of his civil and political rights. He is elected for seven years by the Congress in joint session by a majority of those present. The election must occur in public session, formally announced at least five days before. There is no provision in the present Constitution, as there was in the preceding one, and is in almost all the other Latin-American constitutions to-day, prohibiting re-election. In case of temporary disability he may designate a substitute from among the ministers. In case of permanent disability the president of the Supreme Court acts as Chief Executive and must immediately convoke the Congress for the election of a President to fill out the unexpired term. It will be noted that the institution of Vice-President has been abolished in the newest Venezuelan Constitution, as in the latest Constitutions of Mexico, Uruguay, and Peru.

The powers of the President are enumerated under twenty-five different heads and comprise the usual powers characteristic of Latin-American executives. Although he does not possess the veto power, he is administrative and political head of the nation, with the important power of issuing decrees and regulations in execution of the laws. He is supreme director of the armed forces of the nation, and in time of war or of internal disturbance enjoys extraordinary powers of calling upon the states for necessary aid, of anticipating the collection of revenues, of suspending the constitutional guaranties, and of transferring the seat of government. The President is made responsible for treason and for ordinary crimes, but this responsibility is to the Federal Supreme Court, not to the Congress, as in the United States and generally in Latin America.

The President acts through the Ministers of State, one of

whom must countersign every act of the President before it becomes valid. There are seven departments as follows: Interior; Foreign Affairs; Finance; War and Marine; Industries; Public Works; and Public Instruction. The work of the department of justice is handled by the Attorney-General's office, this official, though acting under orders of the President, being selected by the Chamber of Deputies. The Ministers are legally responsible before the Supreme Court, and as has been pointed out are made politically responsible to the Chamber of Deputies by express provision of the Constitution. Together the Ministers constitute the Council of Ministers and are jointly responsible for its actions. Individually each Minister is responsible for his own department.

The Judicial Power. Some peculiarities of the judicial organization are worthy of special notice. The Supreme Court, consisting of seven members elected for a period of seven years each by the Congress with geographical representation of each one of seven groups of states, is given express power to declare null and void both state and national laws in conflict with the Constitution. It possesses in general the original and appellate powers exercised by the supreme federal courts in the other Latin-American federations. The Attorney-General, functioning also in the capacity of minister of justice, is selected by the Chamber of Deputies for three years.

Finances and Functions of the Federal Government. The national budget for 1919-1920 amounted to roughly 50,000,000 bolivars.[1] The chief sources of revenue are customs duties, followed in order by tobacco, salt, liquor, and stamp taxes. The chief items of expenditure are the charges on the public debt, which amounted at the end of 1918 to 145,527,628 bolivars. Next came the Department of the Interior, followed by the Department of War and Marine, the Department of Public Works, the Department of Industries, and the Department of

[1] The monetary system of Venezuela is based on the gold standard, the unit being the bolivar, the approximate equivalent of $0.19 in the United States currency. The Constitution expressly prohibits the issuance of paper money or bills of credit by any authority, national, state, or local within the country.

Public Instruction, the last named showing an estimated expenditure of less than 3,000,000 bolivars.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN VENEZUELA

	U. S. Gold
Total Value of Foreign Commerce of Venezuela in 1920 was	$93,763,660
Imports " " " " were	60,828,328
Exports " " " " were	32,934,322

Chief Imports: Cotton textiles, wheat flour, machinery, drugs and medicines, papers, rice, oils.

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports: United States of America, United Kingdom, Colombia, Spain, France, and Italy.

Chief Exports: Coffee, cacao, balata, sugar, maize, cattle, hides, tobacco, frozen beef, and gold.

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports: United States of America, Netherlands, United Kingdom, France, and Spain.

Communications. Aside from the internal waterways afforded by more than 6,000 miles of navigable streams, chiefly in the Orinoco system, there were in 1920 some 600 miles of railway in operation. These consisted of twelve short lines, running for the most part inland from the sea and not connected with each other. The majority of the lines are operated by foreign corporations. Much progress has been made in recent years in improved national highways, the length of which was about 1,500 miles in 1920. In 1918 there were 215 telegraph offices with nearly 6,000 miles of lines, and 309 post offices.

Products and Industry. Agriculture and cattle raising constitute the basic productive activities of the country, the territory being naturally divided into three zones, the agricultural, the pastoral, and the forest zones. In the latter, tropical products are gathered. Coffee and cacao are among the chief agricultural products, but sugar is also grown to a considerable extent. Minerals constitute another source of wealth. Gold is the principal metal produced. Petroleum is being produced in increasing quantities, and asphalt is a valuable product. Of manufacturing industries there are very few. A few textile mills, some sugar refineries, tanneries, and two or three paper mills constitute the

bulk of the manufacturing plants. Nearly all manufactured articles have to be imported.

Colombia

Colombia since independence

Beginnings of the State. Colombia dates its independence from July 16, 1813, when a congress of delegates from the central province of New Granada met at Bogotá and adopted a formal declaration of independence from Spain. But, as in other Latin-American states, the declaration of independence did not follow until several years after the first revolutionary steps had been taken, nor was independence actually established until a number of years after it was formally declared. As early as July, 1810, a revolutionary *cabildo* at Bogotá had deposed the Spanish viceroy and created a provisional junta, and in November, 1811, a revolutionary junta at Cartagena had declared the independence of that province. In the same month a federal constitution had been drawn up for the "United Provinces of New Granada," after Venezuela had already declared herself a separate and independent state. But the power of Spain was virtually re-established in New Granada as in Venezuela by 1816 and no local revolutionary government exercised any power until after the defeat of the royalists by Bolívar at Boyocá in August, 1819. In December of that year at the instance of Bolívar, Venezuela and New Granada were united in the centralized Republic of Colombia. In 1821 a Constitution was adopted for the new state and Bolívar put at its head. The same year the Isthmus of Panama was incorporated as a department of the state, and in May, 1822, the presidency of Quito, freed from Spanish domination by the soldiers of Bolívar under Sucre, became part of Great Colombia.

In 1831, upon the dissolution of Great Colombia by the defection of Venezuela and Ecuador, which had both adopted independent Constitutions in September, 1830, the central provinces of Great Colombia adopted a Constitution for the state of New Granada. This first Constitution was of a centralized nature,

the first President being Santander, a lieutenant of Bolívar's, who then became his bitter opponent. In 1843 a second Constitution was passed which still further strengthened the central government. But in 1849 the Liberals triumphed over the Conservatives and in 1853 enacted the first federal type of Constitution, followed by an amendment in 1855 and a new instrument in 1858 which carried the principle of federalism to its ultimate extremes. The emasculation of the central government under this Constitution was well indicated in the name now given to the national government, "The Granadine Confederation." After the bloody struggle between Mosquera, the champion of decentralization, and Ospina, the conservative supporter of centralization in 1861, in which the former triumphed, a new Constitution was promulgated in 1863 under which, for more than twenty years, the national state, under the designation of "The United States of Colombia," was little more than a league of nine federal states for the purpose of defense against foreign attack.

Present Constitution Adopted. The period of anarchy and internecine strife that followed finally caused a profound reaction under the presidency of Rafael Núñez, who after overcoming an insurrection in 1885 issued the Constitution of 1886 under which the country is still governed. By this instrument the name of the country was changed to "The Republic of Colombia" and the confederate and federal principles were definitely abandoned for the unitarian one.

A large part of the constitutional history of Colombia is, therefore, taken up with the bitter struggle between nationalism and localism, with the ultimate triumph of the latter. But hand-in-hand with this subject of contention was the question of the Church, and in Colombian politics the Liberals in general stood for secularization and local autonomy, while the Conservatives favored the supremacy of the Church and of the national government. Although Colombia has suffered enormously from revolutions, rebellions, and internal wars, her struggles have been less the result of jealousies and conflicting ambitions of aspiring leaders, such as have marred the history of so many

of the Latin-American states, than of fundamental and irreconcilable differences of theories and ideals.[1]

The Panama Revolution. One event in recent Colombian history must be touched upon because of its intimate bearing upon the relations of the United States to Colombia and to Latin America in general. That event is the secession of Panama from Colombia in 1903. The rejection on August 12, 1903, by the Senate of Colombia of the Hay-Herrán convention of January 22, 1903, by which the United States was to obtain the lease of a strip of land six miles wide across the Isthmus of Panama, was followed by a revolution in Panama on November 3d, and by the recognition of the revolutionary government three days later by President Roosevelt. Twelve days after that a treaty was signed with Panama, giving the United States the right to construct the Panama Canal and the control of the Canal Zone. Colombia and most of the other Latin-American states felt then, and feel now, that the revolution of Panama was engineered by the United States for the purpose of acquiring the rights on the isthmus which Colombia was unwilling to grant. The ratification in 1921 of the treaty by which the United States agreed to pay Colombia $25,000,000 as an indemnity, though strongly opposed at the time in this country, has done much to dispel the irritation and distrust aroused by the original transaction.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. The Republic of Colombia, lying immediately west of Venezuela, is unique among South-American countries in that it has a coast line on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, though the former, or more strictly speaking, the Carribean, is of much the greater commercial significance. The area of Colombia, more even than that of the other countries already considered, is not definitely ascertainable, due to the boundary controversies which exist or until recently did exist between Colombia and almost all of her neighbors, notably

[1] Calderón, *Latin America,* Book IV, Ch. I.

Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil. The area most commonly accepted is about 440,000 square miles, or about ten per cent larger than Venezuela. Lying within about the same degree of latitude as the latter also, there is a general resemblance in climatic conditions to those described in Venezuela, greatly variegated in Colombia as well by differences in altitude. The principal mountain ranges of the country are three great chains, extensions of the Andes, traversing the western part of the country from north to south. A number of these mountains rise above the perpetual snow line and the plateaus lying between the ranges at altitudes of 5,000 feet or more afford a temperate climate throughout the year. The coastal plains on both oceans show, of course, a tropical climate, the Pacific slope having an excessively large rainfall. In the lower valleys between the mountain ranges, chief of which is the great valley of the Magdalena, the climate is likewise tropical, as also in the low-lying eastern and southeastern region of the *llanos* and *selvas*. Colombia has numerous rivers, some of which flow into the basin of the Orinoco, some into that of Amazon, and some, the least important of all, into the Pacific. But the Magdalena and its affluent, the Cauca, arising in and flowing down valleys on opposite sides of the Cordillera Central, are by far the most important. The Magdalena, navigable for over 900 miles, constitutes the chief highway of commerce in the country.

The population of Colombia according to the last census (1912), was estimated at some 5,100,000. Of these only about ten per cent were listed as pure white, while the pure Indians represented fifteen per cent, the mestizos forty per cent, and the number of negroes and mulattoes as high as thirty per cent. Almost the whole population with the exception of the savage Indians, live in the portion of the country west of the easternmost of the three mountain ranges before mentioned.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

The Republic of Colombia is governed under the Constitution adopted in 1886, with subsequent amendments, notably those

adopted in 1905 and in 1910. The most striking feature of that Constitution, as has been pointed out, was the substitution of the unitary for the federal principle of organization. This basis has not been abandoned in any of the amendments adopted since 1886. On the contrary, the local autonomy of the departments has been still further restricted in certain particulars.

Citizenship, the Suffrage, and Civil Rights. Colombian nationality is acquired by either birth or naturalization. Native Colombians include those born in the country either of whose parents are nationals, or if the children of foreigners, those who are domiciled in the republic. Children born abroad, either of whose parents are Colombians, if domiciled in the Republic are Colombians by origin and residence, as are all Spanish Americans applying for registration as Colombians in the municipality in which they reside. Other foreigners may become Colombians by naturalization.

Citizenship, or the right to vote and to hold office, is limited in national elections to male Colombians twenty-one years of age who are either able to read and write, or have an annual income of 300 pesos or real estate of the value of a thousand pesos.[1] In local elections these requirements of literacy or income or property are not demanded.

Civil rights and social guaranties are enumerated in a special title of the Constitution and include the safeguards commonly found in Latin-American constitutions. The Roman Catholic religion is declared to be the religion of the nation, to be protected by the public authorities and to be respected as an essential element of social order. But the Church is not official and liberty of conscience and of worship are guaranteed to all, so far as not opposed to Christian morals or to the law. Public education, however, is to be organized and conducted in accordance with the Catholic religion. As is common in other Latin-American countries, the civil guaranties in Colombia may be suspended by the declaration of a state of siege. This declaration may be made by the President with the approval of all the ministers.

[1] Amendments of 1910, Art. 44.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

The public powers are distributed in accordance with the principle of the separation of powers among the customary three branches of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

The Legislative Power. The National Congress consists of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The former comprises ninety-two members (one for every 50,000 inhabitants) elected by direct vote on the principle of proportional representation for a term of two years, members being re-eligible, and the total membership being renewed at once. Two substitutes are elected for each representative. The House of Representatives enjoys as special powers the auditing of the Treasury accounts, the initiation of measures of taxation, the election of a majority of the members of the Supreme Court, the organization of the Attorney-General's office, and the impeachment before the Senate of the President, the Cabinet Ministers, the Attorney-General, and the justices of the Supreme Court.

The Senate consists of thirty-five members (one for every 120,000 inhabitants) elected for a term of four years by electoral councils chosen by the assemblies of the departments on the principle of minority representation. Senators are re-eligible and for each member there are elected two substitutes. The Senate enjoys as special powers the right to elect four members of the Supreme Court, to try impeachment cases brought by the House of Representatives, and to confirm appointments to the highest military offices.

The members of both houses are paid, the houses and their members enjoy the customary privileges and immunities, and the Congress holds annual sessions of ninety days, beginning on July 20th. Special sessions may be called by the government. In the legislative process the ordinary rules are followed, including the presidential veto, which may be overriden by a two-thirds vote in each chamber. An interesting departure is found in the provision that if a bill is objected to as unconstitutional it cannot

be repassed over the executive veto unless the Supreme Court declares in favor of its constitutionality. The powers of the Congress include the matters commonly intrusted to the legislative branch of the government. In addition to the ordinary acts of legislation the Congress approves or rejects all treaties, authorizes all contracts entered into by the government in which the national finances are involved, elects two substitutes to act in case of vacancy in the presidential office, and vests in the President such extraordinary powers as may be temporarily demanded by the exigencies of the occasion. Constitutional amendments may be enacted by Congress in the ordinary way of legislation, but must be approved in two successive sessions by an absolute majority of the whole membership of each chamber.

The Executive Power. The chief of the executive power is the President, chosen for four years by direct vote of the people. The President is not eligible for the term immediately succeeding. He exercises his powers with and through Ministers of State, who together with him constitute the government. He may declare a state of siege with the signature of all the Ministers, in which case the government has all the powers that govern in case of war between nations. He enjoys large legislative powers in the right to issue messages, to introduce bills through his Ministers, to veto legislation, and to issue all orders and decrees necessary for the complete execution of the laws. In the field of administration he has the duty of executing all laws and of appointing and removing all offices and employees in the national service not otherwise provided for. Chief among these are the Ministers, of whom there are eight in charge of the following departments: Interior, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Treasury, War, Public Instruction, Agriculture and Commerce, and Public works. They must countersign all of his governmental acts. He is military and diplomatic chief of the nation and is charged with insuring the proper administration of justice. His position as head of the hierarchical administration, combined with his control over the army, gives him the superiority over the legislative branch which is characteristic of Latin-American governments in general.

The institution of a Council of State which was established in the Constitution of 1886 as a check on the government was abolished in 1905.

The Judicial Power. The Supreme Court consists of nine judges, chosen for a term of five years, five by the House of Representatives, four by the Senate, from a triple list of nominees submitted by the President. The judges of the superior courts are appointed by the Supreme Court from triple lists submitted by the departmental assemblies. The Constitution gives the Supreme Court the express power not only to pass upon the constitutionality of bills vetoed on that ground by the President, but also in case of laws actually passed to prefer and enforce the provisions of the Constitution if these are incompatible with the laws. The Attorney-General's department is under the supreme direction of the government.

Local Government. For purposes of local administration the country is divided into fourteen departments, three territories or *intendencias,* and seven special districts or *comisarías.* The departments in turn are subdivided into provinces, and these into municipal districts. The departments, which under the federal organization were almost independent states, have been shorn of most of their powers, though the Constitution declares that they shall be independent in the administration of local affairs. They do enjoy control over their own property, have a power of local taxation, and possess departmental assemblies elected by popular vote. But at the head of each department is a presidential appointee called governor, who is both the representative of the President and the chief of the local administration. He occupies a position analogous to that of the French prefect, but since the Colombian President is independent of the legislature, his agents in the departments exercise a more extensive and uncontrolled power than do even their French prototypes. In the same way in the municipalities, the powers of the municipal council or *ayuntamiento* are exercised subject to the control of the *alcalde* who is both agent of the governor and chief of the municipal administration. The legal subordination of the local

government to the central government is still further emphasized in practice by the insufficiency of local financial resources and the consequent dependence of the subordinate units upon central assistance.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The theoretical monetary unit is the gold peso, normally the equivalent of about one dollar in U. S. gold. But the paper peso is also in circulation worth about one cent or Colombian centavo. Silver coins are also legal tender up to limited amounts. The budget estimates for 1920 amounted to a little over 15,000,000 gold pesos. Half of the revenues are derived from custom duties, the other principal sources of revenue being the salt tax and stamp taxes. Over a third of the expenditures were assigned to the service of the national debt, which amounted in 1920 to some 19,000,000 gold pesos of external debt and 4,500,000 gold pesos of internal debt. The War Department estimates amounted to nearly 2,000,000 gold pesos, military service being compulsory and the peace strength of the army being about 6,000 officers and men. The navy is negligible. Education is highly centralized under the Minister of Public Instruction, though the local governments are charged with the provision of primary education, which is free but not compulsory. The central government spends about 1,000,000 gold pesos a year on education, there being some four hundred secondary schools of various kinds, generally intrusted to religious corporations of the Catholic Church. There are also four departmental universities and one national university, and a number of normal schools.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN COLOMBIA

Commerce.

Foreign Commerce for 1918 amounted to	$59,762,563
Imports " " " "	22,934,994
Exports " " " "	37,728,559

Chief Imports for 1918:	Value in gold dollars
Textiles	$ 9,578,892
Metals and Manufactures	2,320,769
Drugs and Medicines	994,032
Lighting and Fuel	915,282
Agricultural and Mining Machinery	854,966

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports in 1918:	Value in gold dollars
United States of America	$12,497,797
United Kingdom	5,934,636
Spain	1,121,491
Chief Exports for 1918:	**Value in gold dollars**
Vegetable Products	$25,784,369
Mineral Products	5,740,753
Animal Products	3,090,378
Manufactured Products	1,524,527
Live Animals	1,432,184
Chief Countries of Destination of Exports in 1918:	**Value in gold dollars**
United States of America	$31,134,904
Panama	1,649,769
France	778,364
Spain	554,764
United Kingdom	284,728

Products and Industries. All kinds of tropical products are to be found in Colombia along the coast in the hot lowlands, while in the uplands all the products of the temperate zone are found. Most of the country is suitable for stock raising. One of the principal agricultural products is coffee, which constituted two-thirds of the total value of the exports in 1918. Gold, silver, copper, platinum, coal, and petroleum are among the chief minerals found. The value of the platinum exported in 1918 amounted to $2,632,691, no other country of the world except Russia exceeding Colombia in the output of platinum. Emeralds are another mineral output in which Colombia excels, though emerald mining is in a very primitive state.

Communications. Aside from the navigable stretches on the Magadalena, Cauca, and other rivers, the transportation system of the country includes some 800 miles of railways in operation, comprising fifteen different short lines (government owned) not connected into a system. A few main highways are excellent, but otherwise transportation is extremely difficult and ineffective. The government telegraphs have some 1,200 miles of lines.

Ecuador

ECUADOR SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Early Revolutionary Movements. Although the first successful revolutionary movement occurred in Quito, capital of the presidency of the same name in the viceroyalty of New Granada, as

early as August 10, 1809, Ecuador was one of the last of the South-American countries to drive out the Spanish forces. Revolutionary *juntas* and Spanish Presidents succeeded each other in control of the capital city for the next ten years, until the success of Bolívar at Boyacá in 1819, and the successful revolt of Guayaquil in the next year held out a promise of final success for Quito. On May 24, 1822, Sucre, advancing from the south, decisively defeated the Spaniards in the battle of Pichincha, just west of Quito, and entered that city on May 25th. This date marked the beginning of real independence from Spain, but did not establish the presidency of Quito as a separate state, for the territory was incorporated by Bolívar into Great Colombia, along with Venezuela and New Granada. The presidency of Quito was divided into four parts, including Pasto and the northern provinces which later became part of Colombia. The Peruvians attempted in 1828 to wrest from Colombia the two southern provinces in the old presidency of Quito, namely Guayaquil and Cuenca, but were defeated by Sucre.

Meanwhile Bolívar was fast losing his hold in Venezuela and Colombia and while the Liberator was struggling against opposition there, his lieutenant in Quito, General Juan José Flores, proclaimed the independence of the old presidency on May 12, 1830. On August 14th a Constitution was drawn up for the new state with Flores as President, and it was christened Ecuador, as one means of allaying the rivalry between Quito and Guayaquil. Shortly thereafter the province of Cauca, constituting a third of the territory and population of the country, was lost to Colombia.

Flores and His Successors. Flores, the "Father of the Country," a reactionary and despot of the most pronounced type, directed the affairs of the country for fifteen years, being elected President in 1831, 1839, and 1843. He shared his functions with Vicente Rocafuerte, a Liberal, who rose against him in 1833, and though defeated and captured by Flores, was made President in 1835. The second Constitution of Ecuador was promul-

gated in the same year, and the third in 1843 when Flores became President for the third time. His arbitrary and militaristic government led to renewed protests from Rocafuerte who was forced to flee for his life, and in 1845 Flores himself was forced to leave the country. The triumphant Liberals under the presidency of Ramón Roca quarreled among themselves and were continually threatened by the Conservatives. A new Constitution was adopted in 1846 and for five years the exile Flores plotted against Ecuador in Europe and Peru. Revolutions and counter-revolutions succeeded each other in rapid order and after so-called Liberal administrations of Urbina and Robles, the conservative and clerical forces were again dominant under García Moreno. He became President in 1880, the occasion for adopting a new Constitution, and was in actual though not nominal control of the government for the next fifteen years. A devoted Catholic and an enemy of liberalism and democracy, he nevertheless contributed enormously to the material advance and improvement of the country. He promulgated still another Constitution in 1869. His career was ended by assassination at midday on August 6, 1875, in the principal square of Quito.

Following the death of García Moreno, the country was again plunged into anarchy, though in the main the Conservative followers of García Moreno retained control until the Liberal revolution of 1895 put the Liberals back into power under the leadership of Alfaro. Another Constitution having been promulgated in 1884, the new *régime* replaced it by the Constitution of 1897 which remained operative until the adoption of the present Constitution in 1906. Alfaro had to endure and suppress a series of revolutions by conservative and clerical supporters, but served out his term and was succeeded in 1901 by his chosen candidate, General Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez. Under Plaza's direction the anticlerical policy was continued, and in 1904 the Church was taken out of its position of independence and put under state control, while the property of the Church was taken over by the state and religious toleration was intro-

duced. A reaction resulted in 1905 in the overthrow of the elected President, Lizardo García, and the reassumption of power by General Alfaro. But Alfaro in turn was overthrown in 1911 after the election of Emilio Estrada, his own candidate, had proven unacceptable to him. The death of Estrada in December, 1911, again plunged the country into civil war out of which, after a period of fighting and assassinations, General Plaza emerged in March, 1912, as elected President. He was followed in 1916 by Dr. Alfredo Moreno, and the latter in September, 1920, by José Tamayo, a member of the Liberal party.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. Ecuador is the smallest but one of the South-American states, but, as is the case with others of her sister republics, exact statements as to area are not possible, owing partly to boundary disputes with neighboring countries, and partly to inaccurate or incomplete surveys. The area most commonly accepted for Ecuador is about 116,000 square miles, though the official claims of the government of Ecuador place the area at more than double that amount. For many years the boundary between Ecuador and Colombia on the north was the source of disputes and sometimes of war, until it was settled by treaty in 1919. With Peru on the south there has also been continual friction with frequent armed outbreaks, and the dispute has not been finally settled yet.

As at present established, the territory of Ecuador approximates in shape an equilateral triangle with the Pacific seaboard for base and with the apex on the Napo River, a tributary of the Amazon. Traversed by the equator, from which it derived its name, and lying wholly within four or five degrees of the same, Ecuador illustrates even better than the other Andean republics the equal importance of altitude as a factor in determining climate when compared with latitude. Here, on the very equator there may be found all the variations in temperature encountered in passing from the hottest tropics to the polar regions. Along the Pacific Ocean and in the lowlands of the

eastern watershed of the Andes are found the tropical or hot lands. The littoral of Ecuador, however, unlike that of Peru and Chile to the south, instead of being arid and bare, enjoys a heavy rainfall and presents a profusion of plant life. The uplands of Ecuador particularly those lying between the two main cordilleras of the Andes that traverse the country from north to south, contain the bulk of the population of the country. This great central plateau has been likened to a ladder of which the eastern and western cordilleras form the sides and a succession of cross elevations or nodes constitute the rungs. The lofty snow-covered volcanic peaks that flank this plateau are among the highest and most remarkable mountains of the world.

Of the rivers on the western slope of the Andes the most important is the Guayas, a short navigable stream flowing into the bay of Guayaquil from the north. This Gulf of Guayaquil constitutes the best natural harbor on the west coast. On the eastern slope of the Andes the rivers drain into the great Amazon basin. The chief stream is the Napo, which is navigable for several hundred miles in Ecuador, and then unites with the Marañon, in the territory held by Peru but claimed by Ecuador, to form the Amazon.

Population. The estimates as to the population of Ecuador vary even more than do those of the area of the country, but the figure most commonly accepted is 1,500,000. Of this number fully two-thirds are Indians, some of them still in a savage state, some ten per cent white, and the rest mestizos, there being also a small number of negroes and mulattoes in the lowlands. As elsewhere in Latin America, the native Indian is socially and economically at the very bottom of the scale, while politically he does not function at all, unless enlisted by a revolutionary leader. The revolting events attending the revolution of 1912 seemed to reflect little improvement over conditions a hundred years before, though the government has here as elsewhere been practically wholly in the hands of the white, wealthy, and educated classes.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Ecuador is governed under the Constitution promulgated in December, 1906, the twelfth since the establishment of Ecuador as an independent state. In her earlier history individualism and localism led to a movement for large local autonomy if not actual federalism, but throughout nearly the whole of her development Ecuador has been a highly centralized state. The Constitution itself distributes the powers of government among the three traditional departments.

The Legislature. The bicameral principle is followed in the organization of the Congress, which consists of a Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Both Senators and Deputies are elected by direct popular vote, every citizen over twenty-one years of age and able to read and write being entitled to vote. The Senate consists of thirty-two members (two being chosen from each of the sixteen provinces), elected for four years. The Chamber of Deputies contains forty-eight members, on the basis of one for each 30,000 of the population, elected for two years. In the organization, powers, and functions of the Congress the Constitution of Ecuador follows the traditional lines adopted by the other centralized republics. The meeting time of the Congress in regular session is fixed by the Constitution at August 10th of each year, at Quito the capital. But the President may call special sessions when deemed necessary.

The Executive. The Chief Executive of the nation is the President, chosen by direct popular election for a term of four years. He is not re-eligible until after the lapse of two terms following the expiration of his own term of office. No Vice-President is provided, but in case of death or disabliity of the President the presidents of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies succeed, in the order named, to the exercise of the executive power. The President occupies the traditional constitutional position as regards legislature, executive, political, diplomatic, and administrative powers. In accordance also with the usual tradition in Latin-American countries, the actual position of the President is more powerful even than it appears as set

forth in the Constitution. Through his direction of local administration he can largely control the electoral process, and through his military power as well as his power of patronage he can largely influence the votes of such members of the Congress as he has not been influential in selecting. The power of impeachment which the Congress theoretically wields over the President and his Ministers is, therefore, of little practical importance as a check on the Executive. The President functions through five Ministers, appointed and removed by him. The five departments are as follows: Interior; Foreign Affairs; Finance; Public Instruction, and War. In addition we meet the familiar French institution of a Council of State. It is composed of two Senators, two Deputies, three nonofficial citizens, elected each year by Congress, President of the Court of Accounts, and the President of the Supreme Court, which last-named official presides over the Council. The members of the cabinet appear at the meetings of the Council but have no vote. This Council of State advises and acts with the President in important matters and represents and acts for the Congress during its recess.

The Judiciary. The Supreme Court and the superior courts consist of justices selected by the Congress. The five members of the Supreme Court are selected for six years, as are also the judges of the six superior courts. There are inferior courts in the cantons, and justices' courts, besides special courts. At Quito there is also a Supreme Court of Accounts, consisting of seven members elected for six years by the Congress and having the power of audit and investigation of all public expenditures. All secondary laws, decrees, orders, rules, treaties, or other executive acts are made expressly subordinate to the Constitution and if in violation thereof are declared null and void. But to the Congress in the regular process of legislation is intrusted the function of interpreting the Constitution. By virtue of this provision and of the power of appointment, therefore, the legislative power retains its independence of the judiciary.

Local Government. For purpose of internal administration

the country is divided into provinces, cantons, and parishes. At the head of the provinces are governors, at the head of the cantons political chiefs, and at the head of the parishes lieutenants, all appointed and removed by the President of the Republic. Municipal councils are provided for the towns with a measure of local autonomy, but subordinated to the central administrative officers and dependent on financial subsidies from the central government.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The monetary unit of Ecuador is the Sucre,[1] the equivalent of $0.487 in United States money, divided into a hundred centavos. Since 1900 the monetary system has been put on a gold basis, the gold *condor* of ten sucres being the standard coin. Paper money is not issued by the government, but four banks under government direction and control are permitted to issue notes.

The budget estimates for 1920 amounted to about 20,000,000 sucres. The principal sources of revenue are the customs duties which yield approximately seventy per cent of the revenues; taxes on cocoa, real estate, rum, and tobacco amounting to about fifteen per cent of the revenues; the salt tax six per cent; and the remainder from the postal department and the rents from state property.

The chief expenditures are for the public debt services, internal administration, the army and navy, and education. The public debt amounted on June 30, 1919, to 56,207,220 sucres, of which the foreign debt amounted to more than three-fifths. The army has a permanent establishment of about 7,500 men and under the law a reserve force of about 100,000. The navy is negligible, consisting of only four or five secondary ships. Primary education is free and compulsory, but in 1916 there were less than 100,000 pupils in the elementary schools. Secondary and technical schools are maintained by the state and there is a national university at Quito with associaté universities at Guayaquil and Cuenca. In 1916 the government expended some $600,000 on

[1] So designated in honor of General Sucre whose victory over the royalists at Pichincha freed the country of Spanish control.

education. The Catholic Church is supported out of public funds, though freedom of worship is guaranteed by the Constitution.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN ECUADOR

Commerce. The foreign commerce of Ecuador in 1920 amounted to $45,385,954 (U. S. gold); of which $21,138,476 represented imports and $24,247,478 exports. By way of comparison it may be noted that the foreign commerce of Ecuador in 1913 amounted to $24,044,260. The United States now leads all other countries both in imports to and exports from Ecuador, the respective figures for 1920 being $12,355,845 and $13,394,469. Great Britain comes next, the figures being $4,609,582 and $4,240,448. France comes third in imports to Ecuador, the figures being $678,027. Italy comes third in value of exports from Ecuador, the figures being $1,279,627.

Chief articles of export: cacao (over $17,000,000), ivory nuts (nearly $3,000,000), panama hats (nearly $2,500,000).

Chief articles of import: textiles, live animals, hardware, machinery, drugs and medicines, vehicles.

Products and Industries. The most important product of Ecuador is cacao, or cocoa, one of the chief ingredients of the chocolate of commerce. Next to Brazil Ecuador produces more cacao than any other Latin-American country. Another unique industry of Ecuador is vegetable ivory, the fruit of the tagua palm. The tropical portions of Ecuador are admirably suited to the production of tropical fruits. Owing to Ecuador's favorable location in reference to the Panama Canal, such products should find a market in the United States. The export of fresh fruits in 1920 amounted to 153,399 sucres. The so-called Panama hat is manufactured in great numbers in the Province of Manabi. Coffee, cotton, and tobacco are cultivated in considerable quantities. The mountainous sections of Ecuador are rich in mineral wealth which up to the present has been but little exploited. Extensive rubber forests exist in the Amazon basin.

Communications. With the exception of the short Guayas River, which empties into the Gulf of Guayaquil, and certain

tributaries of the Amazon, Ecuador has no navigable rivers of importance. Ecuador has some four hundred miles of railway. The Guayaquil and Quito line (completed in 1908) constitutes the bulk of this mileage. Various short lines have been built from the seaports a short distance into the interior.

In 1918 the total length of telegraph lines was about 4500 miles. In 1918 there were 195 post offices in the country.

CHAPTER IX

URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

URUGUAY

URUGUAY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Struggles of the Early Days. At the time that the revolutionary junta in Buenos Aires deposed and superseded the Spanish viceroy on May 25, 1810, the territory now included within Uruguay was a province of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires known as the *Banda Oriental,* because of its position to the east of the Uruguay River. The Spanish military governor Elio at Montevideo became viceroy in January, 1811, and Uruguay became the center of Spanish resistance to the revolutionary movement in la Plata provinces. Among the revolutionary sympathizers who escaped from Uruguay to Buenos Aires at this time was José Artigas, an officer in the Spanish Lancers of Uruguay, who, because of the part he played in accomplishing the independence of Uruguay has been officially entitled "Founder of the Uruguayan Nation." Within a few weeks he was back on Uruguayan soil with a commission from the junta at Buenos Aires and by May, 1811, he was laying siege to Montevideo.

The history of Uruguay from that date to the attainment of its independence in 1828 consisted of almost uninterrupted war: war between patriots and loyalists, war between Argentines and Brazilians, war between Argentines and Uruguayans and between Uruguayans and Brazilians, war between rival factions of Argentines, and war between rival factions of Uruguayans. Brazil, during the colonial period had claimed the territory of Uruguay as part of the territory included in the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, invaded the country in 1811, while Artigas retreated to the province of Entre Rios, followed

by a large part of the rural population of Uruguay. In May, 1814, Montevideo surrendered to the forces of Buenos Aires, while Artigas, contending for a federal republic in which Uruguay should be an autonomous member on a par with Buenos Aires and the other la Plata provinces, took up arms against the Argentines. Successful in regaining Montevideo in 1815, he made war on Brazil in an effort to recover the territory of the Seven Missions, with the result that in 1817 the Portuguese occupied Montevideo. Uruguay thereupon became incorporated with Brazil under the name of the Cisplatine Province.

Although most of the Uruguayan chiefs then became officers in the Brazilian army and the country remained quiet for five years, patriot chiefs in Uruguay and in Argentina planned the expulsion of the foreigners, while Buenos Aires awaited an opportunity for the reincorporation of Uruguay with Argentina. Early in 1825 the immortal Thirty-Three, under the leadership of the Uruguayan Lavalleja, crossed from Buenos Aires into Uruguay. The population quickly rallied to their support while hundreds of Uruguayans, soldiers and officers in the Brazilian army, went over to the patriot cause. Among the most noted of these officers was the patriot chief Rivera, who had been made a general in the Brazilian service. The Brazilians were quickly defeated in the country though still holding the capital, and the revolutionists proclaimed the incorporation of Uruguay with Argentina. Similar action was taken at Buenos Aires and Brazil declared war upon Argentina. The united forces of the Argentines and of the Uruguayans proved superior to the Brazilians in every action, but jealousies between the rival Uruguayans, Lavalleja and Rivera, and internal disturbances in Argentina between Federalists and Unitarians, prevented the effective prosecution of the advantages gained. In August, 1828, Argentina and Brazil concluded a treaty surrendering their claims to Uruguay, recognizing it as an independent republic, and guaranteeing its independence for five years.

The real independence of Uruguay from external control dates, therefore, from August 28, 1828. But the existence of the

new republic was begun under most inauspicious circumstances. Lavalleja and Rivera, the two outstanding figures of the revolution, were bitter enemies and their followers divided the country into two hostile factions whose conflicts destroyed the possibility of peaceful progress, invited renewed aggression by Argentina, and engendered a bitterness between political factions in Uruguay which poisoned the politics of the country until comparatively recent times. The new state was launched under the direction of José Rondeau, a Uruguayan who had led the victorious army of the Argentines. But Lavalleja's followers controlled the first constituent assembly and he superseded Rondeau as head of the state. On July 18, 1830, the Constitution of the Republic was promulgated and it continued, with subsequent amendments, to be the organic law of the country for nearly ninety years.

The Colorados and the Blancos. From the attainment of independence for a period of nearly fifty years the political history of Uruguay consisted chiefly of contests, which repeatedly assumed the proportions of civil war, between the Colorados and the Blancos, so-called from the color of the emblems which they adopted. Rivera, prepared to wage war against his former brother-in-arms, Lavalleja, agreed to a compromise which made him commander of the army, in consequence of which fact he became the first President of Uruguay after the promulgation of the new Constitution. Scarcely two years had elapsed before the partisans of Lavalleja organized an armed conspiracy against Rivera. This attempt was unsuccessful, but Rivera was succeeded in 1835 by Manuel Oribe, another of the Thirty-three, who favored Lavalleja in his desire to destroy the influence and power of the former President. Just at this period the tyrant Rosas gained control in Argentina, and in the furtherance of his ambitions he had aided Lavalleja in his unsuccessful attempts against Rivera. Now that Rivera was heading a formidable revolt against Oribe, Rosas again sent troops to Uruguay, but this time in support of the government. In the first battle the government troops unfurled the white standard, while the

revolutionary army used the red flag. Thereafter there were but these two parties in Uruguay, the Blancos and the Colorados. The Blancos were the Conservatives, allied with the Federalists in Argentina, while the Colorados were the Progressives, the allies of the Unitarians or opponents of Rosas in Argentina, favored by the Europeans in Montevideo, and in general receiving the sympathy of foreign governments.

Rivera, with French assistance, succeeded in overthrowing Oribe, who was strenuously supported by Rosas, and in November, 1838, the victorious Rivera again entered Montevideo, already abandoned by the defeated Oribe. Elected President by the National Assembly, Rivera immediately declared war upon Rosas, the tyrant of Argentina. At first successful, then repeatedly routed in battle, Rivera continued an unequal struggle for many years, years during which the triumph of Rosas and the reincorporation of Uruguay with Argentina seemed inevitable. But ultimately Brazil, joining with the revolting provinces of Argentina and the Colorados in Uruguay, drove Oribe from the country in 1851 and overthrew the power of Rosas at the battle of Monte Caseros in 1852. Thus ended the protracted danger of Argentine domination of Uruguay.

The bloody years from 1842 to 1851 were followed by ten years of comparative quiet under Colorado domination, though marked by factional strife and military coups, assassinations, and foreign intervention. After the death of Lavalleja and Rivera (1853), Venancio Flores became the leader of the Colorados. But Flores himself had to call upon Brazil for aid, and within a short space of time he was compelled to retire, only to reappear as dictator in 1865. During the presidency of Pereira in 1858 occurred another plot, led by General Cesar Díaz, the unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, to incorporate Uruguay with Argentina. In spite of these disturbances and the insuperable financial difficulties of the government, the decade witnessed a phenomenal growth in the material prosperity of the country.

Flores had returned to power with the aid of both the

Argentine Unitarians and of Brazil, but this adventure plunged the four countries of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay into the bloodiest of South-American wars. López, dictator of Paraguay and leader of the most formidable army on the continent, protested against the intervention of Brazil in the internal affairs of Uruguay and when his protests were disregarded declared war upon the latter. When Argentina refused him permission to send his troops through the province of Corrientes, the warlike Paraguayan declared war upon her also, while Flores in return for the aid rendered him by Brazil led the Uruguayan forces against Paraguay. During the progress of the war Flores on returning to Montevideo was assassinated on the streets of the capital, as he was driving to the scene of a revolutionary assault on the government house.

The death of Flores plunged the country anew into disorders; presidents and dictators succeeding each other in rapid succession. In this period the administrations of Batle (1868-1872) and Latorre (1876-1880) stand out because of the material progress made under strong chiefs. During the latter years the traditional division of the country into Blancos and Colorados began to be obscured, and although the party names continued, the rivalry was no longer so bitter and ferocious. Revolutions and assassinations, however, recurred with disheartening frequency, the last Blanco uprising occurring as late as the end of 1910. But even these disturbances could not impede the material progress of the country, and since 1897 the improvement in economic conditions has been matched by social and governmental reforms of far-reaching significance. In 1917 a new Constitution was framed, which went into effect on March 1, 1919, and embodies the advanced ideas of government which had been developing in the country during the last decades. On March 1, 1919, President Baltasar Brum was installed for a four-year term.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. Uruguay is the smallest of all the South-American republics, with an area of slightly over 72,000

square miles, or about the same size as North Dakota or as the whole of New England. It extends from latitude 30° S. to latitude 35° S., a total north and south distance of approximately 350 miles. It is, therefore, the only Latin-American republic that lies wholly within the temperate zone. From east to west it extends nearly three hundred miles and is bisected by the 58th meridian which fixes its position as due south of Newfoundland.

The most striking characteristic of its geographical condition is the fact that the country is bounded almost wholly by water. On the south and southeast are the estuary of the Rio de la Plata and the Atlantic Ocean. The entire western boundary is formed by the River Uruguay, which separates the country from Argentina, while on the east Lake Mirim constitutes the boundary between Uruguay and the narrow tongue of Brazil extending southward between the former country and the Atlantic Ocean. The northern boundary with Brazil is also partly formed by two rivers, the Cuareim and the Jaguarão, while the intervening stretch is filled by the Santa Anna range of mountains. It enjoys the advantage, therefore, of natural boundaries, and though there have been some controversies with Brazil over the eastern boundary and with Argentina over the location of the boundary in la Plata estuary, there has been little of that uncertainty as to the territory which has caused others of the Latin-American republics such difficulties.

Next to the importance of the water boundaries, the most of which present navigable water fronts, the most striking feature of the country, topographically considered, is its lack of mountains. At no point does the elevation of the country reach 2,000 feet, but unlike the vast pampas of Argentina the interior of the country is of a rolling nature, traversed in different directions by more or less clearly marked ranges of hills. Even the shore line along la Plata, in contrast to the flat, low-lying shore of Argentina on the opposite side, is marked by elevations that come close to the water's edge. The rainfall averages about thirty-seven inches. The hills and banks of the streams in the north are

well wooded, while in the south vast stretches of grassy slopes afford superior grazing land. In the southwestern portion the soil is unusually fertile and adapted to the raising of all kinds of grain crops. The climate of southern Uruguay, tempered by the proximity of la Plata estuary and the Atlantic Ocean, is scarcely to be surpassed in evenness of temperature, free from extremes of either heat or cold. In the north, toward the Brazilian frontier, subtropical conditions are encountered. In contrast with the abundance of waterways along the boundaries, the interior of the country can show only one river of importance, the Rio Negro, which rising in Brazil traverses the entire country from northeast to southwest for a distance of about 350 miles, emptying into the Uruguay some fifty miles above its mouth. This river is navigable for light draft vessels for a distance of about fifty-five miles, while the Uruguay is navigable in like manner for two hundred miles, and for ocean-going steamers as far north as Paysandú.

Population. The population of Uruguay is estimated at 1,500,000, which makes it the smallest South-American country but one (Paraguay) in the number of inhabitants. In density of population, however, nearly twenty-one per square mile, it ranks first. It is to be noted that between one-fourth and one-third of the total population of the country is concentrated in the capital, Montevideo, with an estimated population of 400,000. The next largest cities, located on the Uruguay River, do not exceed 25,000 in population. The most striking feature of the population of Uruguay is its almost pure white-race character. The aboriginal Indians were few in number, and the warlike Charruas, who were the most numerous of several tribes, were completely extinguished, while the importation of negroes was never appreciable and the few that are found in the country are located along the Brazilian frontier. Immigration has played a large part in the rapid increase in the population of the country. Drawn largely from Spain and Italy, the immigrant element has merged easily with the native population. About one-fifth of the population are foreign born, while the proportion of natives

of foreign parentage is even larger. Of late years there has been a considerable immigration of Brazilians.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Uruguay is governed under a Constitution promulgated on January 3, 1918, and effective on March 1, 1919. This Constitution, one of the two most recent of Latin-American constitutions, superseded the original Constitution of 1830, which was at that time the oldest of the Latin-American fundamental laws. Though subsequently amended in numerous particulars, the old Constitution survived for nearly eighty years, a record the more remarkable because of the frequent and violent revolutions and internal wars to which the country has been subject.

The new instrument is a relatively concise document, contained in thirteen sections, divided into 178 articles,[1] and containing much that is new not only in Latin-American constitutions but in national constitutions generally, in line with the most recent developments in Mexico and Peru, as well as with some of the tendencies manifested in the constitutions of the newly formed European states.[2]

Bill of Rights. The customary bill of rights is contained in a special section of the Constitution (Section XII) of twenty-nine articles. Equality before the law is declared; titles of nobility and hereditary honors are forbidden; inheritance by primogeniture and entails are abolished; the inviolability of the home is assured; elaborate safeguards are devised for those accused of crime, including the requirements of warrants, a speedy trial, the very unusual requirement of jury trial, the writ of *habeas corpus,* and the abolition of the death penalty; the right to bail in lesser offenses is guaranteed; freedom of speech and of

[1] It is to be noted that the Uruguayan Constitution uses the term section for the main subdivisions and the term article for the smallest subdivisions, the sections being divided, moreover, into their more important parts designated as chapters.

[2] For a discussion of these innovations in Mexico, Uruguay, and Peru, see an article by H. G. James, "Constitutional Tendencies in Latin America," *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* (March, 1921), Vol. LII, No. 3, page 244.

the press are assured as well as the right of petition; the right of property is declared to be sacred and inviolable, and freedom of domicile and of occupation is safeguarded. Religious freedom is not included among the list of personal rights, which was taken over largely from the former Constitution, but is guaranteed by Article 5 of the Constitution, declaring that all religious cults are free. This declaration superseded Article 5 of the earlier instrument, which had established the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the state and did not expressly permit the practice of any other form of worship. Finally, it is to be noted that there is no provision in Uruguay for the suspension of these personal guaranties, either by the President or by the legislature, save only that in extraordinary cases of treason or conspiracy against the country, the arrest of offenders may be ordered without the prescribed formalities by the President with the consent of the legislative branch. Their subsequent detention and trial are, however, governed by the provisions of the bill of rights.

Citizenship and the Right of Suffrage. Uruguayan citizenship is acquired either by birth or naturalization. Natural-born citizens include all persons born in the republic and all children born abroad of Uruguayan fathers or mothers upon becoming inhabitants of the country and inscribed on the civil register. Naturalized citizens include foreign householders who engage in any science, art, or industry in the country, or possess real property or capital within the country, and have resided three years in the republic; foreigners not householders who meet the other prerequisites and have resided four years in the country; and foreigners upon whom the legislature confers citizenship by special act for notable services or distinguished merit. Citizenship is lost by naturalization in another country, and the political rights of citizenship are suspended during minority under eighteen years of age, during incapacity which interferes with free and independent labor, during criminal prosecution for felonies, and during the term of a judicial sentence imposing exile, imprisonment, or political disability.

The suffrage, both active and passive, is enjoyed by all male citizens over eighteen years of age, provided they are inscribed in the civil register. The Constitution permits the extension of the suffrage to women, but requires a two-thirds vote of all the members in each chamber of the legislature for its adoption. The secrecy of the ballot and the principle of proportional representation are both required by the Constitution.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Republic of Uruguay is organized on the unitary principle, as a representative democracy, and the Constitution by a special article distributes the exercise of the sovereignty among the traditional three powers, legislative, executive, and judicial.

The Legislative Power. The legislature is called the General Assembly and is divided into two chambers, one of Representatives and one of Senators. The powers of the General Assembly are enumerated under nineteen separate heads and comprise the usual powers of legislation and of finance. In addition to these, the Assembly has the power to declare war, ratify all treaties, confer pardons or amnesties in extraordinary cases by a two-thirds vote in each chamber, determine the location of the seat of government, create and regulate banks, nominate in joint session the members of the High Court of Justice, and settle conflicts of jurisdiction between the President and the National Council of Administration.[1] By another provision the legislature is given express power to interpret and explain the Constitution as well as to amend the same. For this latter purpose a two-thirds vote of each chamber is required, and amendments so adopted must be repassed in the same form by the next succeeding legislature by a similar vote. In the call for the election for the next legislature the proposed amendments must be published by the National Council of Administration.

Ordinary laws, save those relating to imports and taxes, may originate in either chamber, on motion of any member or on the initiative of the Executive through the medium of the Ministers.

[1] See below, page 314.

Measures passed by one chamber go to the other chamber for approval, amendment, or rejection. If approved in the second chamber, they are then sent to the Executive. If amended in the second chamber, they are returned to the chamber of origin, and if there accepted the bills are sent to the Executive as before. If the amendments are not accepted, a joint session may be demanded and the bill passed in its original form by a two-thirds vote of the entire body. If the second chamber disapproves of the bill, it fails and cannot be reintroduced in the same session. If a bill passed by both chambers is not acceptable to the Executive, it must be returned within a period of ten days, and if then repassed by a three-fifths vote in a joint session of both chambers it becomes a law without the approval of the Executive. If, however, the President and the National Council of Administration do not agree in disapproving of the bill a simple majority of the votes in joint session is sufficient to repass it. The Executive must immediately sanction and promulgate a bill passed by the legislature and approved by him or repassed by the legislature over his veto.

The General Assembly meets each year on the 15th of March and continues in session until the 15th of December, or longer if necessary. In the years in which members of the Chamber of Representatives are chosen, the General Assembly adjourns on the 15th of October and the new Assembly convenes on the 15th of the following February. During the recesses of the General Assembly provision is made for a permanent commission consisting of two Senators and five Representatives, both named by a majority vote of their respective chambers. This permanent commission is to watch over the observance of the Constitution and the laws and draw the attention of the Executive to violations thereof. In case the Executive ignores two notices of the commission, the latter may convoke the General Assembly in special session. The permanent commission, furthermore, acts in place of the General Assembly in according or refusing approval to those acts of the Executive which require legislative approval, and in examining the acts of the Ministers.

The Chamber of Representatives consists of ninety members, chosen by direct secret ballot on the principle of proportional representation for a term of three years. The elections occur on the last Sunday of November, all the members going out of office at the same time. Representatives must be qualified voters, twenty-five years of age, and not belonging to any of the disqualified classes. These latter include federal employees; and soldiers, police, judicial, and fiscal officers in the departments in which they function. The Chamber of Representatives has the exclusive right to initiate legislation relating to imports and taxes and to impeach before the Senate the members of the Executive, including the Ministers, as well as members of either chamber and of the High Court of Justice, for the crimes of treason, rebellion, malversation of public funds, violation of the Constitution, or other serious offenses.

The Chamber of Senators consists of nineteen members, one from each of the departments into which the country is divided. Their term is six years, one-third being renewed every two years, and they are not re-eligible until after the lapse of two years after the expiration of their term. The Senators are chosen by an electoral college in each department, elected by direct popular vote. The same disqualifications apply to Senators as to Representatives. The Senate is the court for the trial of impeachments brought by the lower chamber. Neither Senators nor Representatives may accept appointments from the Executive without the consent of their respective chambers, and in doing so with such consent they vacate their seats in the legislature. Both Senators and Representatives receive a remuneration during their term of office, the amount of which is fixed by the preceding legislature and the payment of which is made wholly independent of interference by the Executive. The two chambers adopt their own rules of procedure, elect their own officers, and are the sole judges of the qualifications and elections of their members. Their members enjoy the customary legislative privileges and immunities and are subject to the jurisdiction of no court without the consent of their chambers.

The Executive Power. The most novel and interesting feature of the new Uruguayan Constitution is the disposition that has been made of the Executive. Under the old Constitution the executive power was vested completely in a President elected by the General Assembly. Under the new Constitution the executive power is divided between two independent organs, the President and the National Council of Administration, in a manner that is unique among Latin-American states, and for which it is not possible to find a prototype among the governments of Europe established at the time of the drafting of the Uruguayan Constitution.

The President of the Republic is elected by direct vote of the people on the last Sunday of November, and enters upon his office on the first of March following. He must be a natural-born Uruguayan, thirty-three years of age. His term of office is four years, and eight years must lapse before he can be re-elected, or even selected by the National Council as President *ad interim* by the General Assembly to fill out an unexpired term. The salary of the President (24,000 pesos, equal to $24,000, per year) is fixed by the preceding legislature and is not subject to change during the incumbency of the President. The Senate is made the judge of the election of the President. No Vice-President is provided for, a member of the National Council of Administration chosen by it succeeding to the office in case of absence or incapacity of the President. In case of a permanent vacancy the General Assembly is convoked to elect a successor, who is to serve until the first of March following the next election of members of the National Council of Administration, at which time a new President is chosen by popular election.

The National Council of Administration, which shares the executive power with the President, consists of nine members elected by direct popular vote on the same date as the election for President. But the members of the Council are elected for six years, one-third retiring every two years. In the election of the Councilors the list system of proportional representation is employed, two-thirds of the seats being allotted to the party

receiving the largest popular vote, and one-third to the party that polls the next largest vote. An equal number of alternates are elected simultaneously with the principals. The Councilor who receives first place in the majority list acts as President of the Council. The salary of the Councilors is fixed in the same manner as that of the President, and the Senate acts as judge of the elections. Councilors must be thirty-three years of age and either natural-born citizens or naturalized citizens of fifteen years' standing or of thirty years of residence. Councilors are not re-eligible until after an interval of two years, and the President is ineligible for election to the Council, unless he has resigned or his term of office has expired six months prior to the election.

The President of the Republic is intrusted with a large measure of powers, relating chiefly to what are commonly termed the political functions of the Executive. He represents the state, both internally and externally. He preserves internal peace and order and external security. He is commander-in-chief of all military and naval forces, but may not assume personal command without a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. He convokes the legislature in special session; presents a report and message to the General Assembly at the beginning of its regular sessions; proposes legislation to the same; approves or disapproves of bills passed by the General Assembly; promulgates, publishes, and executes laws duly passed by the legislature; receives diplomatic representatives and admits foreign consular officers; declares war, upon resolution of the General Assembly; concludes treaties after receiving the opinion of the National Council and subject to ratification by the legislature; and lends the aid of the public forces upon request of the National Council or of the judiciary. In addition, however, he has a considerable measure of administrative power. He appoints and removes the Ministers of foreign affairs, of war and navy, and of the interior, and all subordinates in their departments. He fills the civil and military offices under his direction, grants pensions, retiring allowances, and leaves of absence; appoints the diplomatic and consular representatives, subject as regards the former to confirmation by the Senate;

appoints and removes the departmental chiefs of police; and dismisses military and police officials. He prepares the budget for submission to the Council of Administration and submits to the same bodies proposals regarding loans, taxation, currency, and questions of international commerce.

The President may not leave the territory of the republic for more than forty-eight hours without authorization of the legislature, which prohibition extends to the period of six months following the expiration of his term of office. He is subject to impeachment by the Chamber of Representatives, which suspends him from office if sustained. The Senate tries the impeachment and if sustained by a two-thirds vote the President is removed from office, being thereafter subject to trial by the ordinary courts in conformity with the law.

The National Council of Administration has jurisdiction over all matters of administration which have not been expressly reserved to the President of the Republic or to other authorities. This jurisdiction includes all matters relating to public instruction, finances, public works, labor, industries, and agriculture, charities, and sanitation. The Ministers in charge of these departments are appointed and removed by the National Council of Administration and are completely responsible to it. The National Council makes up the financial accounts of the government and submits them to the General Assembly, as also the annual budget prepared by the President. It also has jurisdiction over the holding of national elections and the observance of the electoral laws. In all matters of administration it has the same powers in relation to the services that are under its control as are enjoyed by the President of the Republic over the departments which he controls. The Councilors enjoy the same immunities as members of the legislature and are subject to impeachment in the same manner as the President.

There is, therefore, in Uruguay a vertical cleavage of the executive power which leaves the President largely supreme within his own sphere, but intrusts matters of internal administration to a popularly elected Council. This is in line with the

tendency noticeable in the newer Latin-American constitutions in the direction of reducing the powers of the President, without marking any progress in the direction of parliamentary government. How this newest experiment with the device of a plural executive will work out cannot fail to be of great interest to students of government.

The Judicial Power. The most interesting feature of the organization of the judiciary in Uruguay is to be found in the provision, not uncommon in Latin-American countries but at variance with our practice in the United States, that the judges of the supreme court, known as the High Court of Justice, shall be chosen by the General Assembly. There are five members of the court, appointed during good behavior, and the court as a whole is given "directional, correctional, consultative, and economic supervision over all the other courts and judges of the nation." Its original jurisdiction extends to all cases involving violations of the Constitution; offenses against law of nations and admiralty cases; treaties and negotiations with foreign powers; ambassadors and other diplomatic agents of foreign governments. But under the exclusive power expressly accorded to the legislature to interpret and explain the Constitution, the High Court of Justice does not have jurisdiction to declare laws null and void as being in conflict with the Constitution.

Two appellate courts of three judges each are provided, the members of which are appointed during good behavior by the High Court of Justice with the approval of the Senate, or, in case of recess, of the Permanent Commission. Each department has a lower court and there are over two hundred justices of the peace whose main concern in civil suits is to settle disputes by conciliation to prevent their being brought to trial.

Local Government. The departments are not merely electoral, judicial, and police districts of the national government, but are accorded a considerable measure of local self-government as well.[1]

[1] The eighteen departments outside of that of the capital varied (1918) in area from 1587 square miles to 5763 and in population from 23,679 to 117,219. The department of Montevideo had an area of 256 square miles and a population of 382,004.

For this purpose they have a representative assembly and an administrative board. The assembly is chosen by popular vote on the basis of proportional representation with power of local taxation. Tax measures of the local assemblies may, however, be appealed to the legislature. Membership on the departmental assemblies is honorary. The administrative boards consist of from three to seven members also elected by popular vote with minority representation. They supervise the administration of departmental affairs and exercise a supervision over the municipalities within the department, having power to remove municipal officials for incapacity, nonfeasance, or malfeasance in office, subject to approval, in the first two cases, of the departmental assembly. These locally elected bodies superseded in large measure the *jefes políticos* or prefects who formerly exercised practically complete control over the departments. But there remains as agent of the central government in each department a chief of police appointed and removed by the President. The incumbent must be a native of, or a householder within, the department and is selected from a list submitted by the National Council of Administration.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The currency of Uruguay is on a gold basis, the theoretical unit being the gold peso or *peso nacional* of 1.697 grammes, .917 fine, the equivalent of $1.034 in U. S. currency. But the government has never coined any gold pieces, foreign gold coins being in circulation at legal values fixed by the government. There are silver pesos in circulation with smaller coins for centesimos and multiples thereof. The Bank of the Republic has the sole right to issue notes, of which there were in circulation at the end of 1918 more than 55,000,000 pesos, backed by a gold reserve of considerably more than that amount.

The budget for the year 1921-1922 amounted to approximately 36,553,000 pesos in receipts and 43,250,000 in expenditures. The principal sources of income are the customs taxes, which yield about two-fifths of the total revenues. The property tax yields about one-eighth of the income, while trade licenses, factory and

tobacco taxes, and stamp taxes figure among the remaining principal sources.

The largest single item of public expenditures is the service of the public debt. On January 1, 1921, the public debt amounted to more than 172,000,000 dollars, of which over 126,500,000 dollars were classed as foreign debt. The budget estimates for the service of the national debt set aside over 16,000,000 dollars, or more than one-third of the total expenditures. The government bonds of Uruguay are unusually favored securities, because of the enviable record of the government in recent years in meeting its obligations and the rather exceptional condition of surpluses instead of deficits in the national treasury.

The next largest single item of expenditure in the budget was for the army and navy, something over 7,000,000 pesos in 1921-1922. But the army is relatively small, the peace strength amounting to a little over 10,000 officers and men, service in the standing army being voluntary. The national guard, divided into three classes, includes all able-bodied men between the ages of seventeen and forty-five and numbers about 100,000 men. There is in addition the national police force, numbering about 5,000 men. The navy is negligible, comprising only one armored cruiser and several minor craft.

Public instruction figured next in the estimated expenditures for 1921-1922, with an estimated sum of 6,040,178 pesos. Primary education is obligatory, there being in 1921 about a thousand public elementary schools with over 102,000 pupils, text books being supplied by the government. In addition, there are a number of secondary schools, normal schools, schools of arts and trades, and schools of agriculture. There is a national university at Montevideo with faculties of law, social sciences, medicine, mathematics, commerce, and agriculture.

The other departments of government, ranked in the order of expenditures included in the budget, were as follows: Interior, Finance, Public Works and Industries.

One feature of the Uruguayan government that must not be overlooked is its marked leaning in recent years toward what

are commonly termed socialistic activities. This tendency has made itself manifest in various directions, a recent example being the creation in 1912 of a national insurance bank with a monopoly of insurance business of all kinds. No new insurance companies may now be established within the country.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ISSUES

In some respects political conditions in Uruguay resemble closely those of the other more advanced Latin-American republics. This is perhaps especially true of the characteristic that politics are the concern of a relatively restricted group of the population, namely the educated professional class, particularly the lawyers. Illiteracy is still very prevalent outside of the capital, and public opinion plays a very insignificant rôle. Party programs are not clearly defined, beyond the elementary purpose of securing power. The anticlerical motive, it is true, has played a more important rôle in Uruguayan politics than in Brazil, Argentina, or Chile, but even that has been a development that followed after the origin and establishment of clearly marked parties. The most striking feature of Uruguayan political life is the sharp division of the population into Blancos and Colorados, after more than three generations following the original cleavage. The situation in Uruguay in this respect is not unlike the situation in the United States with regard to the two major political parties. Men are born into one or the other of the two great parties as they are into their religion, and cling to it with little reference to the policies for which it happens at a particular time to stand. Some general distinctions between the two groups as to geographical, social, and economic distribution are noticeable, but they are incidental and tend more and more to break down. The absence of a half-breed Indian population presents one feature of promise in Uruguayan social and political development as compared with a number of the other Latin-American republics, but this advantage is somewhat offset by the large illiterate and more or less anarchistic immigration from southern Europe, an element whose influence has made itself felt even in

the political conditions of Argentina. Perhaps the most hopeful feature of Uruguayan development lies in the fact that, in spite of a political history more disturbed than that of almost any other country, steady progress has been made not only in a material way but in education, arts, and sciences as well.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN URUGUAY

Commerce.

Total Foreign Commerce of Uruguay in 1921 equaled						110,615,881	gold	pesos.
	Imports	"	"	"	"	"	40,350,629	"	"
	Exports	"	"	"	"	"	70,265,252	"	"

The Chief Countries of Origin of Imports:

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports	Value in United States gold
United States of America	$10,788,934
United Kingdom	7,241,892
Brazil	5,610,310
Argentina	5,565,259
Germany	2,904,802
Spain	2,193,233

Chief Articles of Import: Coffee, rice, wheat, sugar, beverages, maté, coal, iron and steel manufactures, cattle, horses and sheep, paper and paper manufactures, cotton and woolen goods, tobacco, oils.

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports:

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports	Value in United States gold.
United States of America	$19,408,743
United Kingdom	17,786,129
Germany	11,877,403
France	7,047,061
Belgium	4,850,788
Argentina	3,025,474

Chief Articles of Export: Live animals, wool, hides and sheepskins, jerked meat, tallow, and frozen and chilled sheep and cattle. The products of the live-stock industry constitute ninety per cent of the value of the exports. Wheat flour and linseed figure among the exports not connected with the live-stock industry.

Products and Industries: The live-stock industry and agriculture constitute the main source of wealth of the country. In

addition to the agricultural products that figure among the exports, oats, barley, maize, and fruits are raised in large quantities. The country is known to be rich in minerals, but little progress has been made in their exploitation. Manufacturing industries are limited but steadily developing.

Communications. In the matter of railway construction Uruguay is one of the most advanced of the Latin-American republics reckoned on the basis of miles of railways per square mile of area. The level character of the country and the contiguity with the advanced states of Argentina and Brazil have greatly favored this development. There are some 1,600 miles of standard gauge railway in operation and more than 500 miles in the course of construction. The railways, chiefly built by British capital and operated by British companies, radiate out from Montevideo as a center toward the north, northwest, and northeast. At several points they connect with through lines in Argentina and in Brazil. New railway undertakings are subsidized by the government, which itself owns one or two secondary lines.

River transportation on the Uruguay, la Plata, and Rio Negro Rivers constitutes an important part of the system of communications, and the strategic location of the capital at the mouth of la Plata makes it an important international shipping point, being a port of call for all steamers from Europe and from Brazil to Buenos Aires. The smaller rivers of the country afford waterways for vessels of light draft.

There are some 5,000 miles of national and departmental highways, which since the advent of motor vehicles have begun to be macadamized. Some 5,000 miles of telegraph lines are in operation with 258 offices (1919). Radio stations have been erected in Montevideo and at several interior points. The post offices in the country number more than one thousand.

Paraguay

PARAGUAY SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Beginnings of the Nation. Though Paraguay was at the beginning of the nineteenth century a province of the viceroyalty of

Buenos Aires it had not, owing to its isolation and to the small number of educated Creoles, been affected by the revolutionary and liberal tendencies that manifested themselves in most of the other provinces in 1810. Consequently when on May 25, 1810, the revolutionary junta at Buenos Aires overthrew the Spanish viceroy and established a government to rule in the name of the deposed Ferdinand VII, no response was aroused in Paraguay. Buenos Aires, intent on including Paraguay as well as Uruguay in the union of la Plata Provinces, sent commissioners to Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, to enlist support for the revolutionary movement. As this attempt met with no success, the provisional government of Buenos Aires in September, 1810, dispatched Belgrano at the head of a small military force against Governor Velazco, who had declared in favor of the council of regency, counting on popular support to overthrow the Spanish government. But the people responded to the Governor's call and early in 1811 defeated and captured Belgrano and his forces, thus ending the project of incorporating Paraguay in la Plata Confederation. But while the military aspects of the Belgrano expedition were a complete failure, it had the intended effect of arousing a spirit of local independence and opposition to Spain. From the Argentine prisoners, and especially from Belgrano himself, the leading Paraguayans imbibed the spirit of independence.

In May, 1811, a bloodless revolution occurred, resulting in the deposition of Governor Velazco, whom six months before the leading Paraguayans had resolved to support in his opposition to the revolutionary forces of Buenos Aires, and a provisional government was installed. On June 11th a Congress declared Paraguay independent and on June 20th a junta was established as the governing authority. One of the members of this junta was José Rodríguez de Francia, the strong man of Paraguay, who was destined to rule the destinies of that country for nearly thirty years. At first the junta declared in favor of supporting Ferdinand, though asserting its freedom from control by Buenos Aires. But within a few months it declared Paraguay a wholly independent state. Unlike similar declarations in the other Latin-

American provinces, however, this action constituted a declaration of fact and not merely a promise, since Spain had at her command no forces with which to attempt the reconquest of Paraguay, even after the revolutionary movement had been suppressed everywhere in South America except in la Plata Provinces.

Francia, the Dictator. A Paraguayan Congress assembled in 1813 at the suggestion of Francia adopted on October 12, 1813, the first Constitution of the country, prepared by Francia himself. This Constitution vested supreme power in two consuls, Fugencio Yegros, another member of the first junta, and Francia. The two consuls were to possess equal powers and hold the supreme authority alternately for a term of four months each. On the same day that this plan of government was adopted the Congress ratified the declaration of independence. Future congresses were to be assembled annually, but all power was lodged in the hands of the consuls. The next year Francia was made dictator for five years, and in 1816 another Congress summoned and controlled by him made him dictator for life. From then until his death in 1840 Francia was the sole government in Paraguay, a despot as absolute as any Eastern Shah or Sultan. He was military and political head of the state and even succeeded in making himself the head of the Church. Of liberty there was none during his rule, save within the limits established and enforced by him. His character has been painted in darkest colors and many of his acts were nothing short of crimes. And yet while the other countries of Latin America were suffering from incessant wars between rival chiefs, Francia made a nation of Paraguay, furthered its material progress, and fostered an intense patriotism backed by a military prowess and ingrained sense of obedience which made Paraguay so formidable an opponent twenty-five years later to the combined forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. Most remarkable of all perhaps was the consistent policy of isolation for Paraguay which was pursued by Francia. Not only was commercial intercourse forbidden but even diplomatic intercourse with other nations was

omitted, and for years Paraguay was almost as isolated from the rest of the world as though it had been on another planet.

López, Father and Son. If the first thirty years of Paraguayan history could be largely summed up in the name of the dictator Francia and in the policy of complete isolation, the next thirty years (1840-1870) can be equally well epitomized in the names of the dictators López, father and son, and in a period of international contacts, culminating in the fearful Paraguayan War and the all but complete extermination of the Paraguayan nation. Upon the death of Francia, the earlier cycle repeated itself; a junta, followed by a provisional government, followed by a consulate, followed by a dictatorship. Carlos Antonio López made first consul in 1841, constitutional President in 1844, and chief of state for ten years in 1857 with the right to nominate his successor, governed the country until his death in 1862. In comparison with Francia he was a mild and progressive dictator. He opened up the country to foreign commerce and international intercourse and was responsible for a marked increase in the material prosperity of the nation. He was succeeded in 1862 by his son, Francisco Solano López, a man whose education and environment seemed to promise a continuation of the era of progress upon which the country had entered. Vain, domineering and cruel as Francia, and obsessed by an insane desire to emulate Napoleon, Francisco López found himself at the head of an army of 80,000 men, the most powerful in South America. In 1864 he declared war on Brazil because of her interference in Uruguayan affairs, the next year he declared war upon Argentina for refusing to permit his troops to cross the province of Corrientes, followed by a declaration of war against Uruguay. For nearly five years López, undoubtedly the victim of mania, resisted the combined forces of the three allies. When at last he was killed on March 1, 1870, and the last remnant of his forces shattered virtually the whole adult male population of the country had been wiped out by battles and disease, while a large portion of the civil population had been killed by famine and privation. Out of a population estimated at 900,000 before the war not

more than one-third remained, and it took nearly fifty years for the country to attain again to a population as large as it had before the catastrophic struggle.

The Recent Period. On November 25, 1870, the present Constitution of the country was promulgated. But the situation of the country was almost hopeless, especially as a large portion of the leading men of white blood had been killed by López himself during the last years of the war. For some years after the war the so-called governments endured only with the support of the Brazilian troops that remained in the country. Not until 1876 was comparative order restored and the Brazilian troops withdrawn. Since that time a marvelous recuperation in population and internal prosperity has occurred, though the century-old isolation of Paraguay has only just begun really to break down. Of serious revolutions and internal disorders Paraguay had been relatively free until the opening years of the twentieth century. From 1904 to 1912 there were repeated revolutions and provisional governments.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. Paraguay, lying in the middle of the South-American continent from east to west and from north to south, shares with Bolivia the distinguishing characteristic of being an inland state. Bounded by Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, it occupies an area variously estimated at from 100,000 to 196,000 square miles. Some of the frontiers of the country with Brazil have never been explored, while the position of the frontier with Bolivia is a matter of dispute with that country. The boundaries with Argentina which encloses it on the west, south, and southeast are formed by the three rivers Pilcomayo, Paraguay, and Paraná, but even these natural boundaries did not preserve Paraguay from a boundary dispute as to the location of the Pilcomayo River, a dispute settled by the mediation of the United States.

The country is bisected from north to south by the river Paraguay, which, rising in Brazil, flows southward through the

country to its junction with the Pilcomayo at the capital Asunción and thence constitutes the western boundary with Argentina to its confluence with and merges in the Paraná at the southwestern tip of the country. This river, which constitutes the principal artery of traffic of the country, being navigable as far up as Asunción for ocean-going vessels of twelve feet draft and above that for smaller vessels for almost its entire length of 1,800 miles, divides the country into the eastern civilized portion, or Paraguay proper, and the western portion known as the Chaco. The other principal river, the Paraná, likewise rises in Brazil and constitutes the boundary between that country and Paraguay down to its confluence with the Iguasú, after which it constitutes the boundary between Paraguay and the Argentine territory of Misiones and province of Corrientes, until its junction with the Paraguay just above Corrientes. This river is navigable for vessels of small draft for its entire length of Paraguayan boundary, but especially to Encarnación at the southeastern tip of the country.

The Chaco or portion to the west of the Paraguay River is largely a treeless, grassy plain. The eastern portion, well watered and crossed by several low ranges of hills, is thickly forested and possesses rich agricultural lands. The upper third of the country lies in the tropical zone and the remainder enjoys a subtropical and warm temperate climate with abundant and evenly distributed rainfall.

Population. The population of Paraguay is estimated at about a million, though no exhaustive census has been made. The Chaco is inhabited almost wholly by tribes of Indians in an uncivilized state, whose number is not known but is estimated at 50,000. In the eastern portion of the country the basis of the population is largely the Guaraní Indian, the original inhabitants of the country, with a considerable element of mixed Indian and Spanish blood and a very small element of pure European blood. The preponderance of the Indian is shown in the fact that, while Spanish is the official language of the country, the Guaraní tongue is the popular speech of the masses and even the educated classes use it as a subsidiary language. European immigration has

been very slight, though generously assisted by the government; the total number of foreigners of all kinds was estimated in 1916 at about 60,000, half of whom were Argentines, with Italians next in the size of representation. Negro blood is encountered to a limited extent.

The important towns are all located either along the two main rivers or along the Paraguay Central Railroad which now connects the capital with Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Asunción, the capital, with a population of about 100,000, is the only large city, the next largest, Villa Rica in the interior, having between 25,000 and 30,000 inhabitants.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Paraguay is governed under the Constitution promulgated on November 25, 1870, since amended in one or two particulars. The government is unitary in form, but otherwise the provisions and even the language of the instrument follow even more closely than do most of the other Latin-American countries the model of the United States Constitution.

Bill of Rights. Individual rights and guaranties are enumerated in a separate chapter of the Constitution and in certain other provisions of the instrument. They include the customary Rights of Man, the most noteworthy departure from the general practice followed in Latin America being the requirement of jury trial in criminal cases, in addition to the other safeguards thrown around those accused of crime. Liberty of the press is expressly guaranteed and jury trials are required for offenses committed through the press. In cases arising out of publications against public functionaries, criticizing their official conduct, the truth of the statements may be pleaded. The citizen's right of suffrage is expressly guaranteed and official interference therewith is made a crime. Civil rights are guaranteed to aliens on the same terms as to citizens, including the right to engage in industrial, commercial, and professional business. The Roman Catholic religion is made the religion of the state, but Congress is forbidden to prohibit the free exercise of any other religion.

Primary instruction is made compulsory by the Constitution and declared to be a special charge of the government. There is the usual power to declare a state of siege in case of internal disturbance or foreign attack, but the President's power during such time is limited to the arrest of suspected persons or their transfer from one place in the republic to another if they do not prefer to leave. This declaration of a state of siege is made by the Congress, or by the President in the recess of the Congress. In the latter case the Congress must approve or suspend the declaration when next it convenes.

Citizenship and the Suffrage. Paraguayan citizenship is of the customary two kinds, native and acquired. Native citizenship rests on the dual principle of the *jus loci* and the *jus sanguinis,* as all persons born in the country are citizens, as well as all children of Paraguayan fathers or mothers upon becoming domiciled in the republic. Naturalization occurs as a result of two years' consecutive residence in the country, during which the alien has owned real estate, or invested capital in a business, or practiced some profession, or been engaged in some industrial occupation, science, or art. Naturalized citizens enjoy the same political and civil rights as native citizens, except that the offices of President, Vice-President, members of the Ministry, Deputies, and members of the Senate are restricted to the latter class.

The right to vote is enjoyed by all male Paraguayans over eighteen years of age unless disqualified through physical or mental incapacity, active military service, or prosecution for a felony.

The Legislative Power. The legislative power is vested in a Congress consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. the Chamber of Deputies consists of forty members [1] chosen by direct election for a term of four years, one-half being renewed each biennium. The Chamber has the initiative in laws relating to taxation and the recruiting of troops and the right to impeach before the Senate, the President, Vice-President, Ministers, judges of the Supreme Court and generals in the army. The Senate

[1] Electoral Law of November 30, 1916.

consists of twenty members elected in the same manner and at the same time as the Deputies for a term of six years, one-third of the membership being renewed each biennium. The Vice-President presides over the Senate. The Senate confirms the appointments of the President to positions on the Supreme Court and to diplomatic posts, and tries all impeachment cases, the chief justice of the Supreme Court presiding when the President is on trial. The judgment shall not extend beyond removal from office and disqualification from holding further office, but the convicted officer is liable to indictment, trial, and punishment according to law before the ordinary tribunals.

Members of both houses are paid a salary. No ecclesiastic may be a member of Congress, neither may government officials who receive a salary from the government, without first resigning their offices. The Congress meets in regular session from April 1st until August 31st of each year. The customary legislative procedure is followed, bills originating in either chamber upon motion of members or upon action of the Executive, and if vetoed by the President must be repassed by a two-thirds vote in each chamber. Constitutional amendments are, however, prepared by special conventions when the Congress has declared the necessity of amendment by a two-thirds vote of the entire membership. The powers of the Congress extend to the whole field of legislation, including the power of declaring war, making peace, and ratifying treaties. It also elects the President and Vice-President in case no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes for either office. Ministers may attend the meetings of Congress and take part in the debates, but have no vote. The familiar Latin-American device of a permanent committee of Congress to act in the intervals between sessions is found in Paraguay in the form of a committee consisting of two Senators and four Deputies. This committee watches over the faithful observance of the Constitution and laws and examines the certificates of election of new members for reference to the respective committees upon the opening of the session. It may also call a special session of the Congress.

The Executive Power. The executive power is vested in a President who serves for four years and is not re-eligible until after the lapse of two presidential terms. The country is divided into twenty-four electoral districts, each of which elects by direct popular vote a number of presidential electors equal to four times the number of Deputies and Senators to which the district is entitled. The electors meet at the capitals of the departments and vote for the offices of President and Vice-President. The lists are sent to the president of the Senate and are counted in the presence of both chambers, an absolute majority being required, with at least two-thirds of the departments represented in the voting. If such a majority is not secured, the Congress selects one of the two persons having the largest number of votes.

The President enjoys the usual extent of presidential powers, legislative, political, military, administrative, and diplomatic. He enjoys also the power of ecclesiastical patronage and the power of issuing supplementary instructions and regulations. An unusual feature of the Paraguayan Constitution in relation to the executive power is the express declaration that all powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Executive shall be understood to have been denied and reserved to the Congress. This body as representative of the sovereignty of the people is intrusted expressly with the duty of removing any doubt which may arise in regard to the equilibrium between the three powers of government.

The President acts through five Ministers (Interior; Foreign Relations; Treasury; Justice, Worship, and Public Instruction; and War and Navy), appointed and removed by him, one of whom must countersign every act of the President, without which signature the act is void. The Ministers are expressly made responsible for the acts they countersign, individually and collectively, but this is merely a legal responsibility enforceable only through the process of impeachment, not a political responsibility. The Ministers are required to make an annual report to Congress concerning their departments and may be called upon by Congress at any time for information concerning their affairs.

The Judicial Power. The judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court, two appellate courts, ten courts of first instance, and a number of justices of the peace. All judges serve for a term of four years and are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Supreme Court exercises disciplinary jurisdiction over all the lower courts. The Executive is expressly forbidden to interfere in any way with the administration of justice.

Local Government. The Constitution is almost wholly silent on the subject of local government, though it refers to departments and imposes on the Congress the duty of legislating as soon as possible on municipalities. The country is divided into ninety-three departments, at the head of which are prefects appointed by the President and under the direction of twelve commissioners, including the military commanders of the five military zones. The departments are subdivided into municipalities, each of which has a centrally appointed administrative head and a locally elected council.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The theoretical monetary unit of Paraguay is the gold peso, based on that of Argentina ($0.965 U. S. gold). But the currency is the paper peso whose exchange value is subject to the greatest fluctuations. Argentine gold and silver coins are accepted as legal tender in Paraguay.

The budget estimates for 1920 amounted to about $5,000,000 each in revenues and expenditures. The chief sources of income are import and export duties. The foreign debt, exclusive of the war debt owing to Brazil and Argentina as a result of the Paraguayan War, amounted in 1918 to about $5,000,000. The chief expenditures are for internal administration, the expenses of the army (about 2,600 officers and men) being small, and those of the navy (three small river boats) being negligible. Education is free and compulsory in the primary grades, secondary schools are subsidized by the government, and a university is maintained at Asunción. In 1918 there were about a thousand primary schools with an attendance of over 50,000.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN PARAGUAY

Commerce. Foreign commerce in 1920 amounted to about $10,000,000, the value of the exports exceeding that of the imports, but the latter are figured at conventional values for customs purposes which are much lower than the actual values.

Chief Articles of Export: Hides, maté, oranges, tobacco, timber, cattle and meat.

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports: Argentina, Spain, and Uruguay.

Chief Articles of Import: Textiles, provisions, hardware, wines and spirits, drugs.

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports: Argentina, the United Kingdom, the United States.

Products and Industries. The chief crop of Paraguay is the yerba maté, of which nearly 20,000,000 pounds are treated annually. Cattle raising is a leading industry, much of the country being admirably suited to grazing. Almost all tropical and subtropical products are found or cultivated. The timber land of Paraguay is a source of great natural wealth, of chief importance being the *quebracho,* from which tannin is extracted. Cotton, tobacco, and sugar are cultivated in considerable quantities. Minerals exist in large quantities, but have not been extensively worked.

Communications. There is but one railway in the country, the Paraguay Central, a British line running from Asunción southeast 232 miles to Encarnación on the Paraná. There the road connects with the Argentine lines, giving through service, by means of a railway ferry, to Buenos Aires in about forty-eight hours, the river trip requiring five days. An extension of this railway to the east is contemplated, to connect with the Brazilian system near the Falls of the Iguasú. With the exception of this railway the chief means of communication are the rivers of the country, especially the Paraguay and the Paraná, which offer thousands of miles of waterways navigable for light-draft vessels.

In 1920 there were over 2,000 miles of telegraphs with sixty-four offices and several wireless stations. The postal service had a total of nearly four hundred offices in 1920.

CHAPTER X

MEXICO

1. Mexico Since Independence

The Achievement of Independence. Mexico gained her independence under somewhat different circumstances than the other Spanish colonies in the New World. The first impetus came not from the Creoles, anxious to displace the Spaniards, but from the *mestizo* and Indian population, led by two zealous and patriotic priests, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and José María Morelos. In 1810 Hidalgo proclaimed the revolution with the watchword of "Grito de Dolores"—death to the Spaniards, down with bad government. With an army composed largely of Indians he captured the stronghold of Guanajuato and for a time threatened Mexico City. But the excesses of his followers alienated the sympathy of the Creoles and he was defeated in 1811 and shortly afterward executed. His successor, Morelos, succeeded in driving the royalists out of large parts of southern Mexico. He even convoked a congress in 1813 at Chilpancingo in Oaxaca, which the following year drafted a Constitution. But the forces of conservatism once more rallied; Morelos was captured, and after being condemned by the Inquisition was executed in 1815.

Though a few scattered revolutionists—notably the guerrilla leader, Guerrero—still remained in the field, the hold of Spain upon Mexico seemed more firmly riveted than ever. But in 1820 an entirely new factor was injected into the situation by a military uprising in the Peninsula which forced the disloyal and despotic Ferdinand VII to restore the liberal Constitution of 1812. The proclamation of this Constitution in Mexico aroused consternation in conservative circles, especially among the higher church dignitaries. It was realized that a liberal

Spanish government would force the clergy to relinquish many of their most cherished immunities and prerogatives. Rather than accept the Constitution of 1812 and all that it implied, they determined to effect what might be called a reactionary revolution and, by a separation from Spain, to save the privileges denied them in the mother country. They found an instrument suited to their purposes in a dashing and unscrupulous young officer, Agustín de Iturbide, who had acquired some notoriety by the ruthlessness with which he had pursued the followers of Hidalgo and Morelos. Iturbide now entered into an agreement with Guerrero and in 1822 published "the plan of Iguala," which proclaimed the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion without toleration of any other and with all the rights and immunities of the clergy assured; the independence of Mexico under a constitutional monarch, preferably Ferdinand VII; and complete equality of Spaniards and Creoles.

The revolution was completely successful. The royalists, the members of the higher clergy, and the most prominent Creoles flocked to its standard. The viceroy Apadoca was forced to resign in favor of a more liberal successor. O'Donojú, the sixty-second and last of the viceroys of New Spain, on his arrival at Vera Cruz made a virtue of necessity and by the convention of Córdoba (1821) accepted the plan of Iguala and in effect recognized the independence of Mexico. Pending the choice of a monarch Mexico was to be governed by a regency headed by Iturbide, and the first Mexican Congress met in February, 1822.

The refusal of the Spanish government to accept the Convention of Córdoba afforded Iturbide his opportunity. Under the pressure of a military pronunciamento, a section of Congress was induced to elect him emperor under the title of Agustín I, the coronation taking place July 21, 1822. But the new empire was short-lived. Vain, egotistical, with no capacity for government, Iturbide soon antagonized his supporters and he was forced to abdicate on April 19, 1823. Deported to Italy and granted a pension, he foolishly returned to Mexico and was executed near Tampico on July 1, 1824.

The Organization of the Republic. While the empire of Iturbide was hastening to its fall, Congress had voted in favor of a republic and issued summons for a constituent convention. This body met in 1823 and remained in session for nearly a year. Two political theories struggled for supremacy. The Centralists desired to carry over into the republic such concentration of power in the central government as had existed during the colonial *régime* when the provinces and intendencias were little better than administrative units. This theory was eagerly embraced by the clerical and many of the military elements, who felt that such a government would be easily amenable to control. The Federalists wished to divide the powers of sovereignty between the central authorities and the states. They were influenced not only by the dread of a tyrant but by the obvious success of federalism in the United States. For the most part the Federalists were liberal and anticlerical. This division recalls in certain respects the cleavage between the Unitarians and Federalists in the early days of Argentina.

The Constitution of 1824 embodied in the main the ideas of the Federalists. It was based on the Constitution of the United States and the Spanish Constitution of 1812. It provided for a presidential term of four years and a bicameral Congress, the upper chamber or Senate being composed of the representatives of fourteen states into which Mexico was divided. The most significant departure from the model of the United States was the provision: "The religion of the Mexican nation is, and will perpetually be, the apostolic Roman Catholic. The nation protects it by wise laws and prohibits the exercise of any other."

In adopting the most important features of the Constitution of the United States, the Mexicans failed to take into account the fundamental differences in the development of the two countries. In the American union thirteen states, each sovereign, merged themselves into a united nation. In Mexico the process of federation was exactly reversed; it was necessary artificially to create the states which were to make up the union. In the case of the United States, to use Freeman's phrase, federation

meant uniting that which had before been disunited; in the case of Mexico it meant breaking up what formerly had been joined together.[1] This attempt to foist upon Mexico a political system for which she was ill prepared was responsible for much of the political disorder which followed.

Three Decades of Revolution (1824-1854); Loss of Texas; War with the United States. The space at our disposal permits only the briefest reference to the highly involved history of Mexico during the next half century. From the achievement of independence to the advent of Díaz in 1876 the unhappy country was governed by no less than fifty-seven Presidents, only two of whom were permitted to fill out their term of office. The causes of this almost continual state of disorder are reasonably evident. Mexico emerged from her colonial dependency with her chief industries—mining and agriculture—all but ruined. The bulk of the population consisted of Indians and mestizos, living from hand to mouth, wretchedly poor, abysmally ignorant, and bound to a system of peonage little removed from slavery. The upper classes were not only without experience in self-government but were divided into frequently hostile factions by political and religious issues. The clergy, by the plan of Iguala, had been allowed to keep most of their temporal power and their immunities intact; they were the largest single landowner in the country, and in order to safeguard their privileged position were virtually forced to enter politics, almost always on the side of the Conservatives and Centralists. The officials of the army likewise enjoyed immunities and privileges before the law. Opposed to the excessive pretensions of these classes were the Liberals, who for the most part were Federalists. Finally, cutting athwart cleavage based on political or religious grounds, were the rivalries of military chieftains, ready to plunge the country into civil war to further their ambitions.

The rapid changes of administration beginning with the presidency of Guadalupe Victoria in 1824 need not concern us. For the next twenty years Mexican politics were more or less dom-

[1] Rives, *The United States and Mexico*, I, 41.

inated by the sinister figure of Santa Anna, who on six different occasions gained possession of the presidency. Of virtues Santa Anna possessed few, if any. Venal, cowardly, mendacious, incompetent, he was in all things considered one of the worst tyrants produced in Spanish America. In so far as he professed any political principles, he was a Conservative and Centralist and was always clever enough to keep the support of the clergy. The most amazing thing about Santa Anna was the manner in which he could successfully impose himself on his fellow countrymen. "In reality this bold, cunning, lying, sharp adventurer who knew what he wanted and got it dazzled the average Mexican. They saw in him a fulfillment of themselves and in letting him rule they had the feeling of success without the trouble."[1]

By 1835 Santa Anna was sufficiently entrenched in power to put into effect his ideas of centralization. For the liberal Federal Constitution of 1824 was substituted the Constitution of 1836, by which the autonomy of the states was destroyed and the nation became a strictly centralized republic, divided into departments ruled over by governors appointed by the Executive. This act was one of the grievances which led the American settlers in Texas to assert and secure their independence in 1836. Ten years later war between Mexico and the United States broke out. An account of this struggle must be omitted from our survey. It should be noted, however, that the view formerly widely held that President Polk skillfully goaded Mexico into the war, to secure additional territory out of which slave states might be carved, is no longer tenable. The real causes of the war were the quixotic unwillingness of Mexico to admit the independence of Texas and her right to be annexed to the United States; the shiftiness on the part of the Mexican government concerning the settlement of American claims; the desire on the part of Polk to secure California lest it fall into the hands of a European power; and the great movement of westward expansion in which both the North and South shared. The invasion of Mexico was rendered relatively easy by the internal dissensions

[1] Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico*, I, 50.

which absorbed much of the energy of the Mexican commanders. By the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) Mexico lost over half a million square miles of territory, or more than two-fifths of the total area of the country. In reality this sacrifice was not as great as first appeared. California owed but a nominal allegiance to Mexico, even before the outbreak of the war; over the remaining territory north of the Rio Grande Mexico exercised almost no effective control. The contraction of boundaries was not without its advantages, as it freed Mexico from some of her most serious foreign complications.

Anticlerical Legislation. The Constitution of 1857. Although Santa Anna had repeatedly demonstrated his incapacity during the war with the United States he contrived in 1853 to maneuver himself into power again. But he soon overshot the mark by declaring himself perpetual dictator, with the title of Supreme Highness. The reaction was swift and decisive. The Mexican people had at length, albeit tardily, taken the true measure of Santa Anna. In March, 1854, the Liberals launched the plan of Ayutla, demanding the dictator's resignation and the promulgation of a new Constitution. In the civil war which followed, Santa Anna was driven from the country, and his political career was ended.

The plan of Ayutla and the expulsion of Santa Anna marked a turning point in Mexican history. During the welter and turmoil of the preceding decades a group of young Liberals had gradually been acquiring an apprenticeship in practical statecraft of which the country stood in sore need. The outstanding figure among these Liberals was Benito Juárez, an Indian of pure Zapotec stock, who through sheer ability had risen to the position of governor of his native state of Oaxaca. As minister of justice and ecclesiastical relations under President Álvarez, he secured in 1855 the passage of a law *(Ley Juárez)* subjecting the members of the clergy and the army to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. The act aroused such a storm of opposition, especially among clerical circles, that Álvarez was forced to resign in favor of the less anticlerical Comonfort, while Juárez became

governor of Oaxaca (December, 1855). But the Liberals did not abandon their program. In 1856 the *Ley Lerdo* (after Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, brother of the subsequent President) aimed at releasing from mortmain the enormous ecclesiastical holdings —estimated to include from one-third to one-half of the most valuable land of the republic—by providing for their sale under favorable terms, the proceeds going to the Church. The clergy, had they been well advised, would have co-operated in carrying through a reform designed to remedy one of Mexico's gravest economic problems. Instead, they offered most strenuous resistance to the execution of the law, threatening with excommunication those who purchased land under these conditions. Comonfort now proceeded to summon a constituent assembly for the purpose of promulgating a new Constitution. The result was the famous Constitution of 1857, which remained nominally in effect until 1917. It embodied the ideals of the Liberals, provided for a federal form of government and asserted the supremacy of the State over the Church. The chief provisions of the Ley Lerdo and Ley Juárez were repeated and complete religious freedom to non-Catholics was guaranteed.

The "War of the Reform." The promulgation of the Constitution of 1857 was the signal for the outbreak of almost four years of civil war, sometimes, though rather inaptly, styled the War of the Reform. Comonfort deserted the Liberals, but his place was taken by Juárez. The Conservatives and Clericals, after some hesitancy, rallied to the support of General Miramón, whom they proclaimed President in opposition to Juárez. In the desperate and cruel struggle which ensued, the tide slowly turned in favor of the Liberals. The recognition of Juárez by the United States not only enhanced the prestige of his cause, but gave him the opportunity of importing arms. In July, 1859, he leveled a severe blow at the church party by issuing a series of decrees known as the Laws of Reform. The remaining ecclesiastical property was nationalized; religious orders were suppressed; civil marriage and civil registration were made compulsory; the Church and State were entirely separated. In

December, 1860, Miramón suffered a crushing defeat and early in the following year Juárez entered the capital in triumph.

European Intervention. The victory of Juárez over the Conservatives, far from bringing peace to the distracted country, was the prelude to one of the gravest foreign complications which had ever menaced the republic. For years the foreign creditors of Mexico had been clamoring for a settlement of their claims, and when the Congress of Juárez was ill-advised enough to suspend payment on Mexico's foreign loans, England, France, and Spain by the Convention of London (October 21, 1861) decided on a joint intervention in Mexico for the protection of their interests. An expedition was dispatched and Vera Cruz was occupied, but when in February, 1862, it became evident that France had ulterior designs on Mexico, the British and Spanish forces withdrew. For some time Napoleon III had been dreaming of the establishment of a great Catholic empire in the New World, which would serve as a bulwark against further expansion of the United States and provide France with abundant raw material and profitable markets. The financial difficulties of Juárez and the absorption of the energies of the United States in the Civil War created the opportunity. He was also influenced by the pleas of the Mexican monarchists and clericals, who assured Napoleon and his Spanish consort, Eugénie, that Mexico was eager to be delivered from the tyranny of Juárez. As ruler of this trans-Atlantic empire was chosen Archduke Maximilian, brother of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. Maximilian consented to occupy the Mexican throne, provided he was invited by the Mexican people and could count on the military and financial support of France.

Meanwhile the French forces, after a bloody repulse before Puebla (May 5, 1862—the famous "Cinco de Mayo") entered Mexico City on June 10, 1863, Juárez and his cabinet having fled. An "Assembly of Notables," carefully selected by the French, formally invited Maximilian to accept the throne of Mexico.

Maximilian and the Second Mexican Empire. When Maxi-

milian and his wife, Carlotta, arrived in Mexico in May, 1864, the French forces under General Bazaine were in control of the central part of the country. Juárez with a handful of followers held out in the north, while a young officer named Porfirio Díaz kept up a desultory resistance in the south. The internal problems of the Empire soon caused Maximilian more anxiety than the opposition of the republicans. The Emperor himself, though well-meaning, had little capacity for government. His refusal to return the nationalized church property to its former owners alienated the support of many of the Conservatives and most of the clergy. The finances of the empire were in a wretched plight, and attempts to place them on a sound foundation were frustrated by the extravagances of Maximilian and the commitments he had made to Mexico's foreign creditors. Friction developed between Maximilian and Bazaine. Napoleon himself began to weary of a venture that brought him endless responsibilities and added little to the prestige of his dynasty.

Yet the empire might have lasted indefinitely had it been able to count on the support or even the acquiescence of the United States. But the government at Washington not only refused to recognize Maximilian, but continued to regard Juárez as head of the republic, even when he was obliged to flee to the frontier at El Paso del Norte. When the conclusion of the Civil War left her hands free, the United States diplomatically but firmly insisted upon the withdrawal of the French troops. Napoleon III reluctantly complied and in 1867 the last French soldier left Mexico. Relying on the specious promises of the Clericals, Maximilian refused to abdicate. His dwindling forces were surrounded at Querétaro; through the treachery of one of his lieutenants he was captured, and on June 19, 1867, was shot. The collapse of this second Mexican empire sounded the death knell of monarchical hopes in Mexico.

The Last Years of Juárez. The Advent to Power of Díaz. After four years of heroic struggles against tremendous odds Juárez re-entered his capital on July 15, 1867. Re-elected to the presidency the same year he endeavored, though not entirely suc-

cessfully, to reorganize the republic and restore order. On his death in 1872 Lerdo de Tejado succeeded to the presidency, by virtue of his office as president of the Supreme Court. But Lerdo's incapacity allied to his dictatorial methods alienated many of his supporters, and in 1876 a rebellion was launched by Porfirio Díaz. Lerdo was defeated in the battle of Tecoac (November 16, 1876), and on March 2, 1877, Díaz was declared President. Mexico had at length found her master.

Mexico Under Díaz (1876-1880; 1884-1910). Save for a brief interregnum under President González (1880-1884), Mexico was ruled by Díaz until 1910. Few countries can offer an example of as striking an advance in material prosperity as did Mexico during this period. Díaz found Mexico bankrupt, with her industries in ruins, practically without communications, a prey to disorder, and banditry. At the end of his reign—for such it was in effect—no country in Latin America enjoyed better financial credit; peace and order were guaranteed; fifteen thousand miles of railways extended throughout almost every section of the republic; industries, particularly mining and petroleum, were flourishing; foreign capital had found a ready welcome and opportunities for profitable investment. The methods employed by Díaz to bring about such a transformation merit a brief mention.

On assuming the reigns of power the first task of Díaz was to establish order. Here one of his chief instruments was the amazingly effective mounted police, or *rurales,* recruited in many cases from ex-bandits who were given the option of helping to enforce law and order or facing the firing squad. Little by little the disaffected elements in the army were weeded out and one of the perennial elements of disorder was thus removed. While careful to preserve the federal and democratic forms and to render lip service to the Constitution of 1857, Díaz built up a strong, centralized, and effective government, in which in all essential matters his will was supreme. Governors of states were never elected without his approval; though little direct pressure was applied to the courts, decisions adverse to the gov-

ernment were very rare. Congress, while not exactly subservient, generally passed without serious opposition bills drafted or favored by the Executive. Elections were perfunctory and at times farcical; the candidate favored by the government was almost invariably chosen. Local politics were managed in the main by so-called *jefes políticos,* officials immediately responsible to the governor of the state and ultimately to the President.

The benevolent despotism of Díaz, though rendering the nation inestimable services, possessed certain inherent weaknesses. Not inaptly has it been said that Díaz was more interested in the wealth than the well-being of Mexico. Social legislation was almost entirely lacking. The educational advance, though in so many respects noteworthy, had not kept pace with the needs of the people. The lot of the agricultural laborers was still unsatisfactory; in certain sections of Mexico, particularly in the south, peonage continued to exist in an aggravated form. The belief had gained ground that, in his desire to develop the natural resources of the country, Díaz had granted too many and too sweeping concessions to foreigners. A new generation, unfamiliar with the anarchy of pre-Díaz days, chafed at the parental despotism to which the country was subjected.

Mexico Since 1910. These elements of weakness, little suspected by the outside world, were revealed in 1910 when Díaz, now eighty-two years of age, announced that he would run for election for the seventh time. An opposing candidate appeared in the person of Francisco I. Madero, a member of a wealthy family having extensive agricultural and mining interests in northern Mexico, and author of *La Sucesión Presidencial de 1910,* a measured but devastating arraignment of Díaz and his system. Madero was thrown into prison, but succeeded in escaping shortly after the triumphant re-election of Díaz. Convinced of the futility of further legal opposition to Díaz, Madero proceeded to launch a revolution with the rallying cry of "effectual suffrage, no re-election, redistribution of land." From all parts of Mexico recruits flocked to his banner; the Díaz *régime* crumbled like a house of cards and, after a brief *ad interim* government under

de la Barra, Madero was inaugurated as President on November 6, 1911. Within a few months the new President found himself involved in serious difficulties, some of them being of his own making. He has been described, with considerable justice, as an idealist; however excellent his intentions, he soon became the tool of men more able and less scrupulous than himself. His failure to carry out his agrarian problem; the nepotism he displayed in appointments; his refusal to use strong measures to put down counter-revolutions, lost him the support of many of his followers. After valiantly struggling against the forces of anarchy and treachery, he was betrayed by General Huerta in February, 1913, and a few days later was assassinated while being moved from one prison to another. Huerta, now in the saddle as a result of this *coup d'état,* set about energetically to pacify the country. In the final instance, however, his tenure of power depended on the recognition of the United States. This recognition President Wilson, convinced that Huerta had gained the presidency through political murder, refused to grant. Tension steadily increased between the two governments. The arrest of a party of American marines at Tampico in April, 1914, followed by Huerta's refusal to salute the American flag, resulted in the seizure of Vera Cruz by an American force on April 21, 1914. War between Mexico and the United States was averted by the acceptance of the proffer of mediation by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. But Huerta's situation was little improved. Unable to raise money, hard pressed by his enemies, the dictator resigned on July 15th, and left Mexico for Europe.

Meanwhile a new star had been rising in the north. Claiming to be the political heir of Madero, the ex-governor of Coahuila, Venustiano Carranza, at the head of a faction who styled themselves the Constitutionalists, launched a revolution which contributed to the downfall of Huerta. Amid conditions of frightful anarchy the Constitutionalists gradually gained in power; this despite the spectacular break between Carranza and his general Villa. On October 19, 1915, Carranza was recognized as head of the *de facto* government by the United States.

On the following year he summoned at Querétaro a constituent convention which in 1917 promulgated the Constitution under which Mexico is now governed. This document, extremely radical in character, is analyzed later in the present chapter.

In spite of the sympathy and indirect assistance Carranza had received from the United States, relations between the two countries remained unsatisfactory. During the recurrent disorders American citizens were murdered and American property destroyed or confiscated. The Santa Isabel massacre by a band of Villa's supporters was followed in March, 1916, by an attack on the town of Columbus, New Mexico. That the punitive expedition led by General Pershing in the summer of 1916 did not involve the two countries in war was due chiefly to the forbearance of President Wilson. At various times during the next few years Carranza quite gratuitously antagonized the United States. His attitude during the Great War was notoriously pro-German. Under the pretext of carrying out the Constitution of 1917 the government put into effect measures which virtually confiscated American property.

Internal conditions left much to be desired. The domestic policy of Carranza was to balance one faction against another and to placate the army at any cost. Extravagance and corruption were rife in all departments of the government. Only in regions adjacent to the railways was the country really pacified. Business was handicapped by a vicious financial system resulting from the flooding of the country with paper money and the looting of the banks. The small hold which Carranza had on the mass of the Mexican people was to appear as the time for a new election approached. In 1919 he announced that he would permit the Mexicans, unhampered by official pressure, to elect their next President. This pledge he broke by setting in motion the machinery of the federal government to secure the election of his own candidate, Bonillas, at the time Mexican Ambassador to the United States. The leading opponent of Bonillas was General Alvaro Obregón, who derived his support from northern Mexico, especially Sonora. An attempt on the part of Carranza to over-

UNITED STATES
Ensenada
Beneficio
Magdalena
Juarez
Caadrea
Nueva Casas Grandes
Moctezuma
Nacozari
Ures
Hermosillo
Sonora
Sahuaripa
Chihuahua
Tonachi
Guaymas
Cedros I.
Corral
S.Rosalia
Camoya
Jiménez
Alamos
Parral
Marqués
Piedras Negras
Sabinas
Sierra Mojada
Nuevo Laredo
Monclova
Camargo
Matamoros
Topolobampo
Tepehuanes
Culiacan
Lerdo
Torreon
Saltillo
Monterrey
Linares
Victoria
Eldorado
Durango
Concepción del Oro
Mena
Canitas
Matehuala
La Paz
S.José
Mazatlán
Acaponeta
Zacatecas
Salinas
Ocampo
S.Luis Potosí
Tampico
Aguascallentes
S.Blas
Tepic
León
Guanajuato
Queretaro
Tantoyuca
Tuxpan
Guadalajara
Irapuato
Celaya
Papantla
Pachuca
Chamela
Manzanillo
Colima
Morelia
Uruapan
Toluca
México
Jalapa
Puebla
Vera Cruz
Cuernavaca
Orizaba
Coyuca
Tuxtepec
Puerto Méx
Mexcala
Tonala
Villa Hermosa
Chilpancingo
S.Lucrecia
Oaxaca
Acapulco
Ejutla
Juchitán
Tuxtla Gutierrez
Salina Cruz
La Puerta
Tonala
S.Benito
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
BRITISH HONDURAS
Progreso
Tizimin
Mérida
Valladolid
Tihosuco
Campeche
S.Cruz de Bravo
Cármen
Fronteras
L.Términos
Bacalar
CUBA
Yucatan Strait
CARIBBEAN SEA
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC. N.Y.

awe Obregón by sending a detachment of federal troops into Sonora was the signal for a revolt which within an incredibly short time spread over almost all of Mexico. Realizing that the game was up, Carranza fled from Mexico in May, 1921, in the direction of Vera Cruz. But the railroad was soon cut and in attempting to escape to the mountains of Puebla Carranza was assassinated. There is no reason to believe that Obregón had any part in this crime.

After a brief interregnum under de la Huerta, ex-governor of Sonora, Obregón assumed the reins of office on December 1, 1920. The country, worn out with almost a decade of revolution, turned to the new administration with a feeling of relief and confidence. While it is yet too early to characterize the administration of the new Executive, both the public utterances and the acts of Obregón presage a period of recuperation, reconstruction, and orderly progress. The President has also given evidence of a sincere desire to work out a program of adjustment and co-operation with the United States. If, however, real political as well as economic democracy is to evolve under the new era, it will be in total contrast to the conditions that have so far existed in Mexico, at least since the overthrow of Madero. The chief impediment to real progress in these directions is the indifference and apathy of the eighty per cent or more of the population who are illiterate Indians or mestizos. At least a generation will be required for the removal or serious reduction of this impediment. Meanwhile, Mexico's most promising hope lies in a broader, less selfish, and more patriotic outlook of the classes whose energies in the past have so largely been dissipated in struggling among themselves for the control of the government.

General Features of Mexico

Area and Topography. Mexico ranks third among the Latin-American countries in area as in population. Its area is given as 767,326[1] square miles, making it about three-fourths the

[1] There is the usual discrepancy in the figures given in various sources, though the variations amount to only a couple of hundred square miles. The

size of Argentina, and one-fourth as large as Brazil. It is the only Latin-American country that extends north of the tropical zone, its northernmost latitude being 32° 42′ N. and extending south to latitude N. 14° 31′. From east to west it extends from 86° 46′ west longitude to 117° 8′, the greatest length of the country being from northwest to southeast, a distance of nearly 2,000 miles. The greatest width from east to west is 762 miles, and at its narrowest point it is 134 miles from ocean to ocean. A striking feature of the geography of Mexico is its location between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the eastern coast line extending in a great semicircle along the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of 1,772 miles to the Caribbean sea. On the west there are over two thousand miles of coast line along the mainland and nearly two thousand along the peninsula of Lower California alone. On the north the country is bounded by the United States, a total distance of over eighteen hundred miles, the Rio Grande River constituting the line for a distance of over 1,100 miles. On the southeast Mexico is bounded by Guatemala and British Honduras, the boundary lines extending 642 miles from southwest to northeast.

In common with most of the other Latin-American states Mexico's topography is such as to modify profoundly the influence of latitude on the climate. As in Brazil a very large part of the country, much the largest part of it in fact, lies on a vast plateau, extending nearly from ocean to ocean, at an elevation of from 4,000 to 8,000 feet. The plateau is bounded on both sides by *sierras,* or mountain ranges. The one on the west, called the Sierra Madre of the Pacific and consisting of a number of ranges each with its own designation, shows a mean elevation of over 10,000 feet, from southern Mexico to the United States border, joining there with the continuation of the Rocky Mountains. The eastern sierras show a somewhat lower mean elevation. Traversing the great plateau, which slopes down grad-

area here given is the one adopted in the *Encyclopedia of Latin America,* which usually shows the largest among the conflicting areas given for Latin-American countries.

ually from south to north, a number of secondary ranges and valleys exist. The highest mountains of Mexico, reaching 18,000 feet, extend in such a volcanic ridge from Orizaba on the Atlantic side to Colima on the Pacific. The effect of this configuration on the climate of Mexico is profound. Though lying almost wholly south of the latitude of New Orleans, much the greater part of Mexico enjoys a temperate or cool climate without the extreme of either heat or cold found in the most of the United States. Along the low-lying coast line, on both oceans, subtropical and tropical conditions exist, resulting in the most extensive variety of plant and animal life, while the highest elevations of the plateau reach the perpetual snow line. Mexico is singularly deficient in rivers of any size. Many of the rivers are practically dry a part of each year, especially in the northern part, and none of them is navigable for larger steamships. The internal commerce and development of the country have, therefore, been singularly dependent upon the development of railway transportation.

Population. The population of Mexico according to the last official census (1910) was something over 15,000,000, but it is officially estimated to-day at 20,000,000, the last census having been admittedly incomplete. Fully eighty per cent of the population is either wholly or largely of Indian extraction, and of the twenty per cent classed by the census as white a large percentage has some admixture of Indian blood. In Mexico, as in Latin America generally, there is no such racial antipathy as debars those of mixed Indian and white blood from attaining the highest success in business, professional, political, or social life. Indeed, not only half-breeds, but even pure-blooded Indians have been numbered among the executive chiefs of the nation. In a purely social connection, it is true that those families who can boast of the unmixed Spanish strain are inclined to regard themselves as the real blooded aristocracy. Of European immigration there has not been enough to exert a great influence on the racial composition of the inhabitants as a whole, though a good many Europeans and Americans occupy prominent places

in the business and professional world. Since the close of the European War and of the ten-year period of revolution (1910-1920), the government of Mexico is making renewed efforts to attract immigration. Of the total population of the country, from seventy-five to eighty per cent are classed as illiterate, comprising almost the whole of the Indian or half-breed peons or agricultural laborers.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

The Republic of Mexico is governed under a Constitution which became effective on May 1, 1917, replacing the one which had been in operation since 1857. Mexico, like Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, is designated in the Constitution as a democratic, federal, representative republic; and being modeled in general on the example of the United States of America, in form at least, holds a much closer analogy to our own system of government, than do the unitary states of Latin America. As in the case of the other federal states already considered, the governmental structure of Mexico can best be considered in the light of its similarities to and departures from the system on which it was modeled.

The Federal Features of the Government. So far as the fundamental principles underlying the federal character of the Mexican government are concerned, they are stated in exactly the same words in the Constitution of 1917 as in the document of sixty years before.[1] But the Constitution of 1836 which imme-

[1] Constitution of Mexico, Title II, Ch. I.

"Art. 39. The national sovereignty is vested essentially and originally in the people. All public power emanates from the people and is instituted for their benefit.

Art. 40. It is the will of the Mexican people to constitute themselves into a democratic, federal, representative republic, consisting of States, free and sovereign in all that concerns their internal affairs, but united in a federation according to the principles of this fundamental law.

Art. 41. The people exercise their sovereignty through the federal powers in the matters belonging to the Union, and through those of the States in the matters relating to the internal administration of the latter. This power shall be exercised in the manner respectively established by the Constitutions, both Federal and State. The constitutions of the States shall in no case contravene the stipulations of the Federal Constitution."

diately preceded that of 1857 had abandoned the federal principle, established by the one adopted in 1824. The famous plan of Iguala of 1821, under which Iturbide, the liberator of Mexico, served as constitutional Emperor for less than a year, was an incomplete and ephemeral instrument of government, while the so-called First Constitution of Mexico, framed by an insignificant revolutionary Congress in 1814, never actually went into effect in any considerable portion of the viceroyalty of New Spain.

To discover the source of the powers conferred upon the first federal government of Mexico it is necessary, therefore, to examine the situation at the time the Constitution of 1824 was promulgated. The various provinces and districts within the viceroyalty of New Spain were united under the ostensible authority of the viceroy until the final overthrow of Spanish power by the triumphal entry of Iturbide into Mexico City in 1821. It is true that certain portions of the viceroyalty, such as Guadalajara, had possessed separate audiencias, and that under the Spanish Constitution of 1812 local ayuntamientos had for a short period been guaranteed to the municipalities of New Spain as to those of the other Spanish possessions, but in governmental matters the viceroyalty of New Spain was a unit in the Spanish colonial system. After the revolution of 1820 in Spain, Mexico was to be represented as such a unit in the Cortes as established by the Constitution of 1812. But even in 1820, there was a revolutionary party favoring a federal form of government for an independent Mexico. Neither the *de facto* government under the Plan of Iguala, however, nor the empire of Iturbide established in accordance therewith, as modified by the treaty of Córdoba, was constituted on anything partaking of the nature of a federal government, and the convoking of the Constituent Congress of 1824 was the act of a government representing or purporting to represent the Mexican nation as a whole, not its provinces or districts as independent sovereignties. With regard to the origin of powers in the Mexican system, therefore, it is clear that the states enjoyed not inherent or original but delegated powers, conforming in that respect to the states in

the federal system of Brazil rather than to those in the United States of America, or even to those of the Argentine federation, closely analogous as were the conditions preceding independence in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires to those in the viceroyalty of New Spain.[1]

If the source of the powers of the states in the Mexican federation differs in nature from the source of state powers in the American Union, no less diverse is the extent of those powers in the two countries. It is true that the Mexican Constitution, like our own, declares that all powers not expressly vested by the Constitution in the federal authorities are understood to be reserved to the states.[2] But the extent of the powers expressly vested in the Mexican federal government by the Constitution is considerably greater than in the United States, while the express prohibitions or limitations on the states are likewise greater, thus restricting the sphere of state action within much narrower limits than is the case here.

Examining first the matters which are intrusted by the Mexican Constitution to the federal government, we find virtually all the powers enumerated which our own Constitution vests in the federal government.[3] But in addition to those we find also such important federal powers as the power to legislate on all matters relating to mining, commerce, and institutions of credit.[4] Though this power of legislation is not as broad as that granted to the federal government in Brazil and in Argentina, yet it includes matters of fundamental importance which in the United States are left to the diverse legislation of forty-eight states. Again, the whole domain of public health with extensive police

[1] See discussion of the origin of the federal system in Argentina, *ante*, page 172.

[2] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 73, X.

[3] Among these powers may be mentioned the control over foreign relations; the control over the armed forces; admission of new states; levying and collecting of taxes of all kinds; borrowing money on the credit of the nation; regulating citizenship and naturalization, emigration and immigration; control over coinage, weights, and measures; control of tariffs and of interstate commerce; establishment of post offices and post roads; and the declaration of war.

[4] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 73, X.

powers is assigned in Mexico to the federal government.[1] Finally not merely post roads but all general means of communication either on land or on the waters which are subject to federal jurisdiction are in Mexico subject to federal legislation. Express, though not exclusive, power is also given to the federal government to establish professional schools of scientific research, fine arts, vocational, agricultural and trade schools, and museums, libraries, observatories, and other institutes of higher learning.

Perhaps of even greater importance than the more extensive powers of legislation intrusted to the Mexican federal government when compared with our own, is the larger measure of control granted to the federal authorities over the state governments in Mexico. Not only is the jurisdiction of the federal courts in cases involving the states as extensive as it is here, leaving the final determination of the actual measure of states' rights to the federal judiciary, but express power is given to the Senate to intervene in the affairs of the states to adjust all political questions arising between state authorities, whenever one of them shall appeal to the Senate, or whenever by virtue of such differences a clash of arms has arisen to interrupt the constitutional order.[2] This power of intervention, exercised in Mexico it will be noted by the Senate and not by the Executive as in Brazil and Argentina, may go even the length of appointing a provisional state governor whenever in the opinion of the Senate all the constitutional authorities of any state have disappeared and the Constitution itself does not provide for the contingency.[3] This power of independent intervention is in addition to the power granted to the federal government in Mexico as well as in the United States to protect the states against insurrection or internal disturbance upon the request of the legislature, or of the Executive if the legislature is not in session. In this connection it is to be noted also that the state governors are by the Constitution bound to publish and

[1] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 73, XVI.
[2] *Ibid.*, Art. 76, VIII.
[3] *Ibid.*, Art. 76, V.

enforce the federal laws (Art. 114) and that not only they but even members of the state legislature are subject to impeachment by the House of Representatives for violation of the Consitution and the federal laws.[1] There is, therefore, in Mexico, a much greater measure of direct control by federal authorities over the state governments than is to be found in the United States.

In addition to the foregoing powers granted to the federal government, and so constituting limitations in its favor upon the powers of the states, there are also express prohibitions upon the states as such and minute constitutional provisions determining the form of their government, which still further restrict their sphere of autonomy. Of the first it is unnecessary to speak in detail as they plainly reflect the influence of similar provisions in the Constitution of the United States.[2] The same is true of those matters, which while not absolutely prohibited to the states may not be undertaken by them save with the consent of the National Congress.[3] Nor need anything here be said of the personal guaranties or "Rights of Man" as they were called in the Constitution of 1857, for they constitute limitations on the federal as well as on the state governments and will be briefly considered further on. But the detailed provisions of the Constitution prescribing the form of government for the states

[1] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 108.

[2] Among these express prohibitions on the states may be mentioned the following (Art. 117): "No state shall enter into alliances, treaties or coalitions with another state or with foreign powers; grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money, issue paper money, stamps, or stamped paper; levy taxes on persons or property passing through its territory; prohibit or tax, directly or indirectly, the entry into its territory, or the withdrawal therefrom, of any merchandise, foreign or domestic; burden the circulation or consumption of domestic or foreign merchandise with taxes or duties, etc., etc. . . . issue bonds of the public debt payable in foreign coin or outside the federal territory; contract loans, directly or indirectly with any foreign government, or assume any obligation in favor of any foreign corporation or individual, requiring the issuance of certificates or bonds payable to bearer or negotiable by indorsement.

[3] The Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 118. "No state shall without the consent of the Congress establish tonnage dues or other port charges, or impose taxes or other duties upon imports; or keep at any time permanent troops or vessels of war."

are sufficiently contrasted with the meager stipulations of our own federal instrument to merit some attention. After prescribing for the states a popular, representative, republican form of government, the Constitution prescribes the qualifications, term of office, and ineligibility to re-election of the state governors, the minimum number of representatives in the state legislatures and their election by single member districts, and the organization and powers of the free municipalities to be established within the states, stipulating at the same time that the public forces of the municipalities in which the federal Executive or the state governors may be permanently or temporarily residing shall be under the command of these officials. This determination of the governmental arrangements within the states is not only unknown to the American Federal Constitution, but is not found in the federal systems of either Brazil or Argentina, and is indeed very largely an innovation introduced by the Constitution of 1917 in Mexico itself.[1]

Surveying the relative scope of powers accorded by the Constitution to the federal government and the states respectively, we find that although the Constitution of 1857 superseded the unitary form of government adopted in 1836 by a federal form, subsequent amendments to the Constitution of 1857 tended still further to increase the powers of the federal government and to restrict those of the states. This tendency manifested itself also in various of the provisions adopted for the first time in the Constitution of 1917, so that the trend toward progressive centralization has been as clear in Mexico as in the United States of America and the other federal states of Latin America.

There remains to be noted in this discussion of the federal features of the Mexican government only the manner of amending the Constitution, for the equal representation of the states in the federal Senate is a characteristic of all of the Latin-American federal states as well as of their North American

[1] The Constitution of 1857 originally restricted itself to requiring that the states adopt the popular, representative, republican form of government, though later amendments inserted the prohibition against re-election of governors.

prototype. In Mexico, as in the United States of America and in Venezuela, ratification of proposed constitutional amendments by state legislatures is requisite to their adoption, whereas it will be remembered that in Brazil and in Argentina the federal Constitution is capable of being amended by action of the National Congress alone. In this one respect, therefore, Mexico has adhered more closely to the typical federal form of government than have the two principal federations of South America, but ratification by a bare majority of the state legislatures is sufficient for adoption in Mexico after the Congress has passed the amendments by a two-thirds vote.[1]

Citizenship, the Suffrage, and Personal Guaranties. Mexican nationality is acquired by either birth or naturalization. Mexican nationality by birth is based primarily on the *jus sanguinis,* for all children of Mexican parents are Mexicans by birth, wherever born, but if born outside of the country they must be children of native not naturalized Mexicans. The *jus loci* is applied to the extent that persons born in Mexico of foreign parents are regarded as native Mexicans, but only if within one year after attaining majority they elect Mexican nationality and have resided within the country for six years prior to such election. Naturalized Mexicans include those children of foreign parentage who are born within the country and elect its nationality, but who have not fulfilled the residence requirement demanded for citizenship by birth, foreigners who have resided in the country for five consecutive years and have an honest means of livelihood and obtain naturalization from the Department of Foreign Affairs, and those of mixed Latin and Indian descent who have established a residence within the republic and have manifested their intention to become Mexicans.

Mexicans possess both obligations and rights not possessed by foreigners. The former include the obligations of compelling attendance of their children at private or public schools, of receiving military training and civic instruction as prescribed by the municipal authorities under whom they live, service in the

[1] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 135.

national guard, and the payment of taxes. The latter include the right to become active citizens under the conditions prescribed, and preference for all kinds of concessions and for all public employments, offices, or commissions for which active citizenship is not required. Positions in the army or police forces are open only to Mexicans by birth, as also positions as officers in the merchant marine, two-thirds of the crews of whose vessels must also fulfil that requirement. Aliens are entitled to the enjoyment of the personal guaranties to be considered hereafter, but any alien may be expelled by the national Executive as an undesirable without judicial process. Aliens are excluded also from ownership in lands, and from acquiring concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels, unless they agree to be considered as Mexicans in respect to such property and not to invoke the protection of their government in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the nation of property so acquired.[1] Furthermore, only Mexicans by birth can be ministers of any religious creed in Mexico.[2]

Citizenship, as distinguished from nationality, commonly designated in the other Latin-American countries as active citizenship, is enjoyed by those Mexicans of male sex[3] who are over twenty-one years of age, or if married over eighteen, who have an honest means of livelihood. They enjoy as special prerogatives the right to vote and to hold office, to assemble for political discussion (denied to Mexicans who are not citizens, to foreigners, and to members of the clergy), to serve in the army, and to exercise the right of petition. The corresponding

[1] This is one of the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 which has aroused the opposition of foreigners and the protests of foreign governments, on the ground that a foreigner cannot properly be deprived of the right of appealing to his own government in the cases recognized by international law and practice.

[2] This provision also has been the cause of resentment by foreign governments as it excluded many hundreds of Spanish and French Catholic priests engaged largely in teaching, as well as foreign Protestant ministers, mostly North American.

[3] The sex qualification is understood rather than expressed, as the generic "mexicanos" though of masculine gender could properly be applied to women as well as men.

duties involve registration in the civil list of the municipality and in the electoral lists, service in the national guard, participation in the electoral process, service in the paid elective national and state offices to which one may be chosen, service on the town council, and all electoral and jury service.

Citizenship is lost by naturalization in a foreign country, by accepting service, employment, or decorations other than literary, scientific, or humanitarian titles without the prior consent of Congress, or engaging to violate the Constitution or the laws. Citizenship is suspended through failure to fulfil the obligations of citizenship, through prosecution for an offense punishable with imprisonment, through imprisonment for such offense, through vagrancy or habitual drunkenness declared by law, through being a fugitive from justice, and through any final sentence involving such suspension.

The personal guaranties, called in the Constitution of 1857 the Rights of Man, include in general the safeguards established in the bill of rights of our own constitutions.[1] But some of them are worthy of special notice as constituting departures from the earlier or general jurisprudence of Latin-American countries. Among these may be mentioned the right of trial by jury for all offenses committed by means of the press, the abolition of the death penalty for political offenses, and the freedom of every individual to embrace any religion and to practice it so long as

[1] Among them are such provisions as the prohibition of slavery (antedating in Mexico its abolition in the United States); freedom of engaging in occupations and professions; freedom from forced labor; freedom of speech and of publication; the right of petition with the additional right of having the petition acted upon, limited, however, as in the case of freedom of assembly, to citizens when relating to political matters); the right to bear arms; freedom of domicile; prohibition of titles of nobility, prerogatives or hereditary honors; abolition of private laws or special tribunals for the punishment of crimes and freedom of civilians from the jurisdiction of military courts; prohibition of *ex post facto* laws; abolition of imprisonment for debts; protection of the accused by the requirement of warrants for arrest, formal notification of the crime charged against him, the right to summon witnesses in his defense and to be confronted by the witnesses against him for cross-examination, a speedy trial, the right to bail, etc.; the prohibition of cruel and infamous punishments; the inviolability of the domicile; and the secrecy of correspondence. Title I, Ch. I.

its observances do not constitute offenses punishable by law. Most important of all are the provisions of the famous Article 27, which is largely an innovation in the Constitution of 1917 and portions of which have threatened to involve Mexico in difficulties with foreign countries, more especially with the United States. This lengthy article deals with rights in property and opens with the declaration that ownership of real property is vested originally in the Nation, which by transmitting title to private persons thereby establishes private property. Such private property shall not be appropriated except for reasons of public utility and by means of indemnification. But the Nation reserves the right to impose at all times on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the development of natural resources, which are susceptible of appropriation in order to conserve them and equitably to distribute the public wealth. For this purpose necessary measures are to be taken to divide large landed estates, to develop small landed holdings, and to prevent the destruction of natural resources. The Nation retains direct ownership of all minerals and fuels and determines the conditions of their extraction under concessions. It was the effect of this provision on the rights claimed by foreign mining and oil corporations that called forth the protests of the United States against confiscation of vested rights. Ownership of lands and waters is limited to Mexicans by birth, no religious institutions are permitted to own land, their existing property vesting in the Nation, and the right of other corporations to acquire or hold land is strictly limited. In another article of the same title, exemption from taxation and monopolies of all kinds are expressly forbidden, except the government monopolies as to coinage of money, postal, telegraphic, and radio service, the issuance of bills, and copyrights and patents. Associations of labor and co-operative associations of producers selling directly in foreign markets are excluded from the definition of monopolies on certain definite conditions.

After the enumeration of personal rights comes the customary Latin-American provision permitting the suspension of these

guaranties under certain conditions. In Mexico this power is intrusted to the President, with the concurrence of the Council of Ministers and with the approval of the Congress or of the permanent committee in case the Congress is not in session. This suspension may be effective in a particular part of the country or throughout the whole of it, but is supposed to be for a limited period. This power has in Mexico, as in many other Latin-American countries, frequently operated to suspend private rights at those times when they were most in danger from executive usurpation. In the Constitution of 1857 those guaranties "insuring the life of man" were excluded from this power of suspension, but that limitation was omitted in the restatement of the article in the Constitution of 1917.

In connection with the constitutional guaranties, though not included among them, mention must be made of the section of the Constitution of 1917 dealing with labor and social welfare.[1] This constitutes one of the most remarkable of the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 and lays down the principles by which the legislation of the National Congress and of the state legislatures shall be governed in dealing with labor. These principles include all of the most advanced conceptions of progressive labor legislation, the eight-hour maximum, protection of women and children in industry, one day of rest in seven, minimum wage sufficient for the normal needs of the head of a family, profit sharing, workmen's compensation, provision of housing, protection of health, safety and morals, the right to strike, arbitration and conciliation boards, etc., etc. Furthermore, the government is enjoined to encourage social insurance and housing corporations for workmen.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Like most of the other Latin-American Constitutions, that of Mexico gives express recognition to the theory of the separation of powers, recognizing, however, as an express exception to the principle that two or more of the three powers shall never be

[1] Title VI.

united in a single authority, the case of the extraordinary powers granted to the Executive to suspend the personal guaranties in case of invasion.[1]

The Legislative Power. The bicameral principle is followed in the organization of the legislature, known as the general Congress, the usual designations of Chamber of Deputies and Senate being used. The members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by direct popular election on the basis of one Deputy for every 60,000 inhabitants, or fraction greater than one-third, each of the twenty-eight states, two territories, and one federal district being entitled to at least one representative. The Deputies are elected for two years, the whole membership being renewed at once. Deputies must be Mexican citizens by birth in the enjoyment of their rights and over twenty-five years of age on the day of election. They must be natives of the states electing them or domiciled there and in actual residence for six months prior to the election. Members of the active military, and higher administrative or judicial officers, state or national, are disqualified for election unless they have resigned their posts at least ninety days before the election. Ministers of any religious creed are absolutely disqualified. The Deputies are paid a salary fixed by law and for each Deputy an alternate is elected, in the same manner and at the same time as the principal. Neither Deputies nor their alternates when in active service may fill any other lucrative position, whether state or national, without the prior permission of the Chamber.

The special functions of the Chamber of Deputies include the sole right to initiate measures dealing with loans, taxes, or imposts, or the raising of troops; the power to appoint all the higher offices and other employees of the office of the Comptroller of the Treasury; to supervise by means of a committee the faithful performance of the duties of that office; to act as grand jury in case of common offenses and to formulate articles of impeachment in case of official offenses against the federal and state officials subject to impeachment.

[1] Constitution of Mexico, 1917, Art. 124.

The Senate consists of fifty-eight Senators, two from each state and two from the federal district, chosen by direct election and a majority vote, the state legislatures certifying the election. The Senators are elected for four years, with an alternate for each, and the membership is renewed by halves every two years. The qualifications for Senator are the same as for Deputy, save that thirty-five years of age is required. The Senators receive a salary fixed by law and are forbidden, like the Deputies, to hold any other lucrative office during their term, except with the consent of their chamber. Both Senators and Deputies are deprived of their compensation for unexcused absences from the sessions.

The special functions of the Senate include the approval of treaties and conventions concluded by the Executive; the confirmation of nominations by the President to diplomatic posts, consuls general, higher officials of the treasury, and superior officers of the army and navy; the authorization of the ordering of national troops beyond the territory of the republic or of the presence of foreign troops on the territory of the republic or of foreign ships of war for more than one month in Mexican waters, and of removing the national guard of any state or territory beyond its limits; the authorization of the appointment of a provisional governor in a state where all the constitutional powers have disappeared, and the appointment of such governor; and sitting as a court in impeachment cases.

Each chamber is judge of the election of its members and all members of the Congress enjoy inviolability for the expression of opinions in the discharge of their duties. The chambers must sit simultaneously for their joint functions and at the same place. A quorum consists of two-thirds of the membership in the Senate and a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, each chamber having the power to compel the attendance of absent members and to summon their alternates upon refusal of the principals to attend. The Congress meets in regular session on the first day of September each year for the auditing of the government accounts, to examine, discuss, and approve the

budget for the next fiscal year and levy such taxes as may be necessary, and to consider and pass any other legislation. The regular session may not ordinarily extend beyond the 31st of December, but the President may convoke the Congress in extraordinary session at any time. The President is required to attend the sessions of the Congress, whether regular or special, and must submit a written message, relating to the general state of the Union or to the particular matter for which the special session was called.

Bills may be introduced in either chamber (with the exceptions noted below) by the President, members of Congress, or by the state legislature. Bills must be passed by both houses and then sent to the President, who must either sign and promulgate them or return them within ten working days to the chamber of origin with his objections. Bills vetoed by the President become effective if repassed by a two-thirds vote in each of the chambers. There is in Mexico no such provision as has been noted in some of the other Latin-American governments, whereby the second chamber can insist on amendments to a bill unless they are rejected by an extraordinary majority in the chamber of origin.

Of the powers of the Congress in general it is not necessary to speak in detail, because almost all the powers conferred upon the federal government by the Constitution, save those specifically intrusted to the Executive or the courts, are exercised through the process of legislation by the Congress. The admission of new states, the government of the federal district and of the territories, the creation and abolition of federal offices, the raising and maintaining of the army and navy, are among the more important matters not already enumerated which are within the jurisdiction of the Congress. In addition, the Congress sits as an electoral college for the choice of Supreme Court justices, and other federal judges of the federal district and the territories. Congress also elects a President *ad interim* or a substitute President, depending upon whether the permanent disability of the President requiring such action occurs in the

first or in the second biennium of his term of office. If the disability is temporary, the Congress elects an Acting President. As has already been noted, the Congress exercises special powers over the treasury office through its selection and supervision of the Comptroller. The President, furthermore, may not resign or even leave the national territory without the consent of the Congress.

We encounter again in Mexico the familiar Latin-American device of a permanent congressional committee to act provisionally during the recess of the Congress in those matters in which the Congress shares powers with the Executive or exercises control over the other departments of government. This committee consists of twenty-nine members, fifteen Deputies and fourteen Senators chosen by each chamber on the eve of adjournment. In addition to acting for the Congress in such matters as the selection of a President *ad interim,* and the filling of vacancies in federal judgeships by temporary appointments, the permanent committee may call a special session of Congress for impeachment proceedings, and prepares a report on all pending matters for consideration at the next session of the Congress.

The Executive Power. The supreme executive power is vested in a President of the United Mexican States. He is chosen by direct election for four years, beginning on the first of December, and is permanently disqualified for re-election. Persons who have served as Acting President, or as substitute or *ad interim* President are ineligible for election to the succeeding term. To be eligible for President the candidate must be a Mexican citizen by birth, in the full enjoyment of his rights, and must be the son of Mexican parents by birth, and have attained the age of thirty-five years at the time of the election. He must have resided in the country the entire year preceding the election. Members of the clergy of whatever creed are disqualified. Members of the military and secretaries or assistant secretaries of the executive departments must have resigned their positions ninety days prior to the election in order to be eligible. All persons who have taken part directly or indirectly in any

uprising, riot, or military coup are ineligible for the office of President. The office of Vice-President, provided in the earlier Constitution, was abolished in the Constitution of 1917 and succession to the presidency in case of vacancy is left to congressional election as already noted. If a permanent vacancy occurs during the first two years of the President's term of office the Congress chooses a President *ad interim* and a new election for President to fill out the unexpired term must be ordered.[1]

The powers of the President include the usual legislative, diplomatic, military, administrative, and executive powers. He opens the sessions of the Congress with a written message, he introduces bills, approves and promulgates or vetoes measures passed by the chambers, and convokes the Congress in special session at his discretion. He appoints and removes at will the secretaries of the executive departments, the Attorney-General of the republic, the governor of the federal district, the governors of the territories, and the attorney-general of the federal district and territories. He likewise has general power of appointment and removal at will of all other federal officers not otherwise provided for in the Constitution. Ministers, diplomatic agents, consuls general, and the superior military and naval officers and higher officials of the treasury are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. The President is commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Union and declares war, upon a resolution of the Congress. He conducts diplomatic negotiations and concludes treaties to be submitted for ratification to the Congress. He enjoys the pardoning power for federal offenses and issues patents in accordance with the law. Among the most important of the constitutional powers of the President, though in terms an emergency power, is that of suspending, with

[1] The substitution of direct for indirect election, the shortening of the term of office from six to four years, the ineligibility of army officers and higher civil officers, the exclusion of participators in uprisings, and the abolition of the vice-presidential office, all of which are departures from the provisions of the Constitution as adopted in 1857, are evidences of an attempt to reduce the likelihood of dictatorships in the presidential office and to diminish the temptation on the part of army general, or high state officials to seek the presidential office through revolution.

the concurrence of the Ministers and the approval of the Congress, the constitutional guaranties and of governing by virtue of extraordinary powers granted to him by Congress.

All regulations, decrees, and orders of the President require for their validity the countersignature of the appropriate department secretary. The number and jurisdiction of these secretaries is determined by law. There are seven such secretaries for the following departments: Interior, Foreign Affairs, Treasury, War, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, and Public Works. Judicial affairs, Education, and Public Health are under the immediate direction of the President without the intervention of any executive department. The secretaries are required to report to the Congress at the opening of each regular session the condition of their respective departments, they may be summoned at any time by either chamber to furnish desired information, and are removable from office for common offenses by the Chamber of Deputies and for official offenses by the Senate upon impeachment by the Chamber. But this constitutes a purely legal, not a political responsibility. Politically, the secretaries are responsible solely to the President who appoints and removes them at will. There is, therefore, no approach to parliamentary government in Mexico in spite of the provision requiring all acts of the President to be countersigned by a Minister. Secretaries of State must be Mexican citizens by birth and thirty years of age.

The Judicial Power. In Mexico, as in the United States, the federal government has a complete judicial hierarchy of its own, and does not, as in the German federation, for instance, rely upon the state courts for the enforcement of federal laws. The judicial system comprises a Supreme Court of eleven members chosen by the Congress, a small number of circuit courts, and district courts in each state. All judges are to hold office during good behavior and are removable only by impeachment proceedings. The judges of the circuit and district courts are appointed by the Supreme Court, which exercises administrative supervision over them. The Attorney-General of the Republic and the public attorneys under him are appointed and removed at will by the

President of the Republic. The public attorneys conduct all judicial prosecution of federal offenses, act as legal representatives of the Nation and function as the legal advisers of the government. The jurisdiction of the federal courts is modeled upon that of the federal judiciary in the United States, but when controversies affect only private rights the plaintiff may elect to sue in the regular state courts or local courts of the territories and the federal district, even though they arise out of the application and enforcement of the federal laws. Furthermore, express jurisdiction is given to the Federal Supreme Court to decide controversies between the powers of government of any state as to the constitutionality of their acts, a power not enjoyed by the federal judiciary in this country. In the Constitution of 1917 very detailed provisions are inserted with regard to the writ of *amparo,* a peculiar feature of Mexican jurisprudence combining the essential elements of the common law writs of *habeas corpus, certiorari, and mandamus.*[1]

Finances and Functions of the Federal Government. In 1905 the gold standard was put into effect in Mexico. The peso (100 centavos) is the unit of value and equals $0.498 United States currency. During the revolutionary period following the overthrow of Madero metal currency almost disappeared, the country being flooded with paper money. In the latter days of the Carranza *régime,* Mexico gradually returned to a metallic basis. Such is the case at the present time. While Mexico is thus free from many of the ills associated with depreciated paper currency the existing financial system is inelastic. The situation will probably be remedied by a bank of issue with an adequate gold reserve.

The budget estimate for 1921 amounted to 276,966,934 pesos revenue and 271,135,666 expenditure. The chief sources of income are federal internal taxes, including stamp tax (in 1920 over 45 million pesos); import duties (in 1920, 40 million pesos);

[1] See note by H. N. Branch to "The Mexican Constitution of 1917 compared with the Constitution of 1857" in Supplement to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (May, 1917), page 115.

tax on petroleum (in 1920, 12 million pesos). The chief expenditures (1921) were for the army (over 131 million pesos) and the treasury department (over 36 million pesos). Published statistics for the national debt vary widely. According to the Mexican Minister of Finance the figures, as of June 30, 1921, were as follows: foreign debt, 380,333,625 pesos; interior debt, 181,850,900 pesos; interest on state debts guaranteed by the federal government, 1,341,517 pesos; total, 563,526,517 pesos. Careful unofficial estimates increase these estimates by over a third. At the present time (1922) efforts are being made by the Mexican government to secure the aid of American banking houses in refunding the national debt and in the resumption of interest payments which have been in default since the period of Huerta.

Public instruction is free and compulsory, and according to the Constitution of 1917, secular. Within the federal district and territories education is supported by the federal government; elsewhere by the state and local authorities. Owing to the disturbed conditions of the country statistics for the last decade have little value or meaning. A competent authority has estimated that at the present time Mexican schools, public and private, will possibly accommodate a million pupils. In 1910, at the end of the Díaz *régime,* about 900,000 were in attendance, which was less than twenty-five per cent of the estimated school population under sixteen years of age. The present government is fully alive to the crying need of public instruction and under the able leadership of Sr. José Vasconcelos, head of the revived Department of Education, is making heroic efforts to reduce illiteracy through the extension of elementary schools and circulating libraries.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MEXICO

Commerce.

Total Foreign	Commerce	of	Mexico	in	1921	equaled	$616,977,146	U. S.	gold
	Exports	"	"	"	"	"	363,580,046	"	"
	Imports	"	"	"	"	"	253,397,100	"	"

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports	Value in U. S. gold
United States	$169,706,425
France	23,319,471
United Kingdom	22,439,456
Germany	12,196,564
Spain	9,801,020
Switzerland	3,638,889

Chief Articles of Import (in order of importance): Iron and steel; cotton manufactures; machinery and apparatus; chemical and pharmaceutical products.

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports	Value in U. S. gold
United States	$297,993,043
United Kingdom	24,499,876
Cuba	6,844,875
Argentina	6,626,955
France	4,102,309
Brazil	3,724,752

Chief Articles of Export (in order of importance): Petroleum, henequen, silver, lead, copper.

It is to be noted that the foreign commerce for 1921 attained the highest figure in the entire history of the republic, being an increase of $74,621,879 over the figures for 1920.

Products and Industries. Contrary to a widely held opinion, agriculture is and always has been the chief industry of the Mexican people. Yet, despite the variety of agricultural products and the immense fertility of the soil, especially in the tropical belts, agriculture remains on a domestic basis. With the exception of henequen, and small quantities of such products as chicle, coffee, and cocoa, Mexico does not have a surplus of agricultural products for export. This apparent anomaly is in part accounted for by the antiquated methods of farming and the low efficiency of Mexican labor. On various occasions it has been necessary to import food supplies, notably corn, the great staple crop of the central plateau region. Prior to the last decade of revolutions, cattle raising was an important industry and with the restoration of peace should again assume large proportions.

Two-thirds of the export trade is represented by the products of the mines and oil wells. In 1920 petroleum products (over 150 million barrels, some twenty-two per cent of the world's total) to the value of over 52 million dollars were exported; the cor-

responding figures for silver, lead, and copper were something over 42, 16, and 14 million dollars respectively.

The only manufacturing industry of importance is cotton. Protected by a high tariff, flourishing cotton mills have been erected, especially at Puebla and Orizaba. In 1911 over thirty thousand operatives were employed in this industry.

Transportation. At the end of the Díaz *régime* Mexico had next to Argentina the most extensive railway system in Latin America, the total extent being slightly in excess of fifteen thousand miles. The main trunk lines, connecting Mexico City with the United States, have been merged into one corporation (the National Railways of Mexico) controlled by the government. The Southern Pacific of Mexico has an extensive system along the west coast, which eventually will furnish through service to Mexico City via Guadalajara. The Mexican Railway, extending from the capital to Vera Cruz, is owned by an English company. It is the pioneer line in the republic, having been completed in 1872. During the last ten years of revolution the railroads suffered severely. Certain minor extensions were made, however, until in 1920 the reported railroad mileage of the entire country was 16,726 miles, excluding purely local lines under state jurisdiction. One of the most pressing problems of reconstruction is the rehabilitation of Mexico's railway system.

At the end of 1918 the federal telegraph and telephone lines had a total extension of 110,530 miles. In 1921, 2,128 post offices were open.

CHAPTER XI

CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA

Central America

CENTRAL AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The five republics of Central America, Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, all date their independence from September 15, 1821. On that date a meeting of high civil, ecclesiastical, and military officials, and representatives of the towns, called by the Governor-General, Gavino Gainza, declared the complete independence of the Captaincy-General of Guatemala from Spain. Up to that time the movement for independence, which had made such progress throughout most of the other Spanish possessions in America, had failed to strike root in the captaincy-general, though there had been unsuccessful revolts in Salvador and Nicaragua in 1811 and 1812. The final impetus for the declaration of independence in Central America was given by the success of Iturbide in Mexico with his Plan of Iguala of February 24, 1821. Indeed, on September 3, 1821, the province of Chiapas, one of the most important of the provinces of the captaincy-general, had declared her independence of Spain and accepted the Plan of Iguala, thus separating herself from Central America and linking her fortune with Mexico.

Coming as it did at the very close of the revolutionary movement in the Spanish possessions in America, the declaration of independence of Guatemala represented an achievement which was in little danger of being subverted by the Spanish government. But the dissensions and jealousies within and the political conditions of the country as a whole presented difficulties more formidable than external war in the way of orderly development. The leaders in the provincial capitals carried over from the

colonial period a jealousy of the authorities at Guatemala, while within the provinces the other towns were jealous of the authorities in their own local capitals. The government was vested in a provisional *junta* with Gainza as captain-general and a call was issued for elections to choose a national congress to meet on March 1, 1822. There was from the first a vital difference of opinion between two groups, the Republicans who favored the establishment of a federal republic, and the Conservatives who favored the union of Central America with the empire of Iturbide, signalized by the triumphant entry of Iturbide into Mexico City on September 27, 1821. Influenced by disturbances that broke out in Honduras and Nicaragua, the junta of Guatemala, without waiting for the assembling of the congress, on January 25, 1822, decreed the annexation of the former captaincy-general with Mexico. Throughout the country there was violent opposition to this action and a force of Mexican soldiers was needed to overcome the opposition of the Republicans in San Salvador. The provisional junta at Guatemala had dissolved itself on February 21st and Gainza exercised governmental power with the aid of a committee. In a large part of the territory, however, the act of union and the authority of Gainza were not recognized. On June 12th Vicente Filísola, the Mexican commander, superseded Gainza in charge of the government. On November 4th, the Mexican government decreed the division of the former captaincy-general into three *comandancías*, and Filísola marched upon San Salvador, where opposition to the union with Mexico centered. On February 9th he entered the city of San Salvador and returned to Guatemala on March 6th. Meanwhile Iturbide had been overthrown (he abdicated on March 18th) and Filísola, no longer bound to attempt the incorporation of Central America with Mexico by force, called a congress of representatives of all the provinces of Central America in execution of the plan adopted upon the declaration of independence.

This Congress assembled on June 24, 1823. On July 2d it assumed the title and rôle of the National Constituent Assembly,

having on July 1st declared the provinces of the former captaincy-general to be free and independent states, confederated into a nation under the name of the United Provinces of Central America. A provisional executive of three men was established, subject to the control of the assembly, which continued in session until July 23, 1825. Filísola departed with his Mexican troops on August 3, 1823, and a year later Mexico recognized the new confederation. A federal constitution modeled on that of the United States of America was framed by the assembly and promulgated on November 22, 1824. Chiapas, still a part of Mexico, was not included in the Union, but provision was made for the subsequent admission of this province, an expected development which never materialized. The individual states had adopted their own Constitutions by September, 1824.

The first constitutional Congress met in 1825, composed largely of representatives of the Liberal party, who also elected their candidate, Manuel José Arce, President of the Federation. The latter, however, dissolved the Congress and abandoning his own party for the Conservatives, the party of the clericals and large landowners, overthrew and reorganized the government of the state of Guatemala. This led to revolts in all parts of the country, especially in Salvador, then, as ever, jealous of the preponderance of Guatemala. After a war lasting two years, Arce was overthrown by Francisco Morazán of Honduras, who became President in 1830. The Liberal government was re-established in Guatemala, but Salvador still remained dissatisfied and organized a new revolution in 1831, which was successfully combated, but resulted in the transference of the seat of the federal government to San Salvador. Morazán failed, however, to maintain his position and the Conservatives gradually regained control of the state governments. The authority of the federal government rapidly diminished to such an extent that the Federal Congress on May 30, 1838, declared the states free to constitute themselves as they might deem best, and in July, 1838, declared the states sovereign, free, and independent political bodies. In the same month the Federal Congress adjourned, never to meet

again. Morazán's second term expired on February 1, 1839, but by that time his authority was not recognized outside of Salvador, and in the next year, opposed by armies of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, he left the country for South America.

Thus ended the union of the republics of Central America and began their career as independent; mutually hostile, and anarchistic states. The idea of the re-establishment of a Central-American federation, however, never completely died out, in spite of the unfortunate history of the first attempt. Championed now by the leaders in one of the states, now by leaders in one of the others, now by one element in the population, now by another, this issue has remained alive through all the intervening years since 1838 and assumed its most promising and concrete form in 1921, as will appear below. The inherent difficulties in the way of a successful federal government in Central America were almost insuperable and remain formidable to-day, but with the passing of the years the difficulties have tended somewhat to diminish, while the advantages have become more and more evident. As it is not possible to follow in detail the history of the five individual states since the dissolution of the federation, it may be of most interest to outline briefly the various movements looking toward a re-establishment of some sort of union of the five republics. Jealousies, wars, boundary disputes, and mutual intervention in each others' internal affairs bound closely together the history of the Central-American republics after 1838 [1] and engendered a bitterness which itself presented the chief difficulty in the way of a governmental union.

For thirty years after the dissolution of the federation the Conservatives in Guatemala, under the leadership of the dictator Carrera, presented the greatest obstacle to the restoration of the union. The three central states of Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, on the other hand, were in general favorable to the

[1] Costa Rica alone, by reason of her somewhat detached location and more favorable social and economic conditions, has been free from the blight of these conditions.

idea of union, and on two occasions actually established a federal government comprising those three states. Costa Rica, more remote from the centers of disturbance and developing with more success a stable and progressive government, has in general shown less enthusiasm for the federal plan than have the central republics.

In 1842 a loose confederation was formed between Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua, providing for a council of three members, one from each republic, and a supreme court chosen by the state legislatures. After aiding Salvador in a war against Guatemala in 1844, the confederation came to an end the following year through an armed attack by Salvador and Honduras on Nicaragua, because the latter had given asylum to political refugees from the former. In 1849 another treaty of confederation was signed between the three central republics, providing for a joint authority to conduct foreign affairs and measures of defense. But when in 1852 an attempt was made to establish a constitution providing for a real federal government, the proposal was again defeated. A third attempt occurred in 1895 between these same states, when there was established the Greater Republic of Central America. A constitution was drawn up and an executive council established in 1898, but the opponents of union in Salvador overthrew the government of that state and the Presidents of the other two states refused to uphold the executive council by sending troops against it. Consequently this union was dissolved.

In 1885 President Barrios, the first great Liberal President of Guatemala, attempted to re-establish the Central-American Federation by force, but the President of Salvador sent an army against their traditional enemy, which defeated and killed Barrios and put an end to that attempt. A similar attempt by President Zelaya of Nicaragua in 1907 was forcibly opposed as a project of one Central-American government to establish itself over the others, and so far from furthering the project of union raised opposition anew. A proposal by Nicaragua and Honduras in the Washington Conference of the same year was opposed by the

representatives of the other three countries and came to naught. But the Washington Conference nevertheless paved the way for more successful attempts at union thereafter, for it resulted in treaties tending to eliminate some of the more serious sources of conflict between the Central-American states. One result of the conference was the establishment of the Central-American Court of Justice to pass upon controversies arising between the different states. Unfortunately the work of the court was less effective than was hoped for. Its decision in 1917 regarding the effects of the treaty between Nicaragua and the United States was rejected by both of these countries and in 1918 the court was dissolved. The Washington Conference of 1907 was also responsible for the establishment of the Central-American Bureau in Guatemala City as an interstate clearing house of information for the five republics.

The most recent efforts at union were sponsored by Salvador, at whose suggestion a Treaty of Union was drawn up and signed at San José de Costa Rica on January 19, 1921, by representatives of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica. Nicaragua did not participate in the pact, partly because of some question as to how the treaty relations between that country and the United States would affect, or themselves be affected by, the new arrangement. This treaty [1] laid down the basis of a real federal union, with a plural executive, and was to become effective upon ratification by any three of the Central-American states. The participation of Guatemala was made possible only by the overthrow of the dictator Cabrera, who had strenuously opposed the renewed steps toward union. Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras ratified the treaty in time for it to become effective between those countries before September 15th, the centenary of Central-American independence. A provisional government was set up at Tegucigalpa, the proposed federal capital, in June and a Constitution drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Union was promulgated on September 9th to

[1] For a translation of the text of this treaty see the *Southwestern Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (June, 1921), pages 397 ff.

go into effect on October 1st. Elections were held on October 30th, and everything was in readiness for the new installation of the permanent government in January, 1922, when a military *coup,* engineered by the opponents of the union in Guatemala, deposed President Herrera and prevented the consummation of the plan at the eleventh hour.

These recent events would seem to show that the five republics are hardly prepared for political union. That practical co-operation in the settlement of their national and international problems is possible appears from the results of the Conference on Central-American Affairs called on December 4, 1922, at Washington on the invitation of the United States. As a result of the labors of the conference, which lasted until February 7, 1923, twelve treaties and conventions, and three protocols were signed, some of which are of the utmost importance for the future of Central America. The first of these treaties is one of general peace and amity. Chief among its features is the recognition by the Central-American republics that their first duty is the maintenance of peace; the declaration of each of the republics that the violent or illegal alteration of the constitutional organization of any one of them is a menace to the peace of all; the obligation of each republic, in case of civil war, not to intervene in favor of or against any other Central-American republic and not to permit within its territory the organization of revolutionary movements against any other Central-American state; and finally, the obligation not to enter into secret treaties. The most important conventions adopted were those re-establishing the Central-American Court of Justice and providing for the limitation of armaments. According to the terms of the latter convention, for a period of five years the Central-American republics agree to limit their standing armies and national guards in accordance with a schedule which varies from 5,200 in the case of Guatemala to 2,000 in the case of Costa Rica. If these treaties and conventions are loyally carried out, they should not only bring to an end the cycle of civil wars and revolutions, but should pave the way for eventual union.

GENERAL FEATURES

Area and Topography. The five republics of Central America occupy the narrow isthmus connecting Mexico and Panama, extending from northwest to southeast and covering a total area of 171,990 square miles, the approximate equivalent of the combined area of the New England and Middle-Atlantic States.[1] The whole region lies between latitudes N. 18° and N. 8°, and between longitude W. 92° and W. 82°. Its greatest extent from northwest to southeast is over 800 miles. The whole territory is traversed by a cordillera or mountain chain—save where it is broken by the great lake basin of Nicaragua—which lies close to the Pacific Ocean. This chain is marked by no less than thirty-one volcanoes with active craters and the whole region of the cordillera is more or less subject to earthquakes. Some of these volcanoes reach a height of twelve and fourteen thousand feet, and the western slopes of the cordillera and the elevated plateaus offer a fertile soil and a most salubrious climate. The country between the mountains and the Caribbean is tropical and not well suited to colonization by the white race.

The most striking feature of the physical geography of Central America is the extensive coast line on both the Caribbean and Pacific Oceans, Salvador alone of the five republics having an outlet on one ocean only. But the Caribbean Sea, though much nearer to European and North American commerce, has played a relatively minor part in the economic history of the region, because until the construction of railroads from the western portion of the country to the ports on that sea it was next to impossible to transport products from the cultivated and populated areas. Within recent years the development of the banana export business has given the Caribbean coast a considerable importance of its own, but even that is largely unrelated to the real economic life of the section as a whole. Guatemala and

[1] The areas of the individual states of Central America are estimated as follows: (area of New York state 47,654 square miles); Guatemala, 48,290 square miles; Salvador, 7,225 square miles; Nicaragua, 49,200 square miles; Honduras, 44,275 square miles; Costa Rica, 23,000 square miles.

Costa Rica each now have an interoceanic railway, which has made the Caribbean ports of greater significance, and both Honduras and Nicaragua are planning similar lines.

The important rivers of the country flow for the most part into the Caribbean, some of them being navigable for small steamers. Of special importance is the San Juan River, constituting the boundary between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, connecting Lake Nicaragua with the Caribbean at Greytown, and constituting part of the proposed interoceanic canal, the right to the construction of which was secured by treaty from Nicaragua by the United States in 1916. Good harbors are found on both coast lines. The most important body of inland water is Lake Nicaragua, ninety-two miles long and thirty-two miles wide, and near it and connected with it by a river is Lake Managua, thirty-two miles long and sixteen miles wide.

Population. The population of Central America is estimated at about 5,000,000.[1] In the racial character of the population considerable variations between the different countries must be noted. In Guatemala, for instance, some sixty per cent of the population consists of pure Indians, most of the remainder being mestizos, the pure white element being very small. The Indians are for the most part little better than serfs, under the peonage system that prevails in Guatemala. In Nicaragua, Salvador, and Honduras, on the other hand, the Indians have not remained as a distinct racial entity, but by mixture with the Europeans have produced a fairly homogeneous mestizo population, the upper class of white descent being not only small but less clearly separated from the half-breeds. In Nicaragua and Honduras a negro and mulatto element is found in the regions bordering on the Caribbean. In Salvador, owing to its lack of contact with the West Indies, the negro element never formed an appreciable part of the population. In Costa Rica, finally, the population is principally Spanish in race, the relatively few aboriginal Indians hav-

[1] The estimated populations of the five Central-American republics in 1914 and 1915 were as follows: Guatemala, 2,003,579; Salvador, 1,225,835; Nicaragua, 703,540; Honduras, 562,000; Costa Rica, 420,179.

ing been killed off in the early colonial days before any considerable mixture occurred. On the Pacific plains of Costa Rica there are a few Indians, and on the Caribbean coast some thousands of negroes, but otherwise the population is pure white, or practically so.

A feature of the distribution of population in Central America is its concentration on the Pacific side of the isthmus, on the high plateaus and western slopes of the Cordillera. In the four countries that have a Caribbean seaboard the greatest expanse of the country lies between it and the mountain ranges of the Cordillera, but an insignificant portion of the population is found there, and what there is consists largely of scattered Indian tribes, and the foreigners and negroes engaged in the banana trade along the coast. Finally noticeable, most of all in Nicaragua and least of all in Guatemala, is the concentration of the population in the towns. In Nicaragua, it is estimated[1] that a fourth of the total population of the country live in the six most important towns, clustered in the plains of the two lakes. In Costa Rica there is a remarkable concentration of population in the small central plateau or *mesa,* on which are located, all within a stretch of thirty miles, the four principal cities of the country. In the other four countries, the cultivated land is held in large tracts by plantation owners, whereas in Costa Rica, the agricultural regions surrounding the cities of the central plateau are divided into thousands of small holdings.

Owing to the general similarity of climatic conditions in the five countries of Central America, there is a close similarity of products and exports. Coffee is by far the most important product of Central America. In Guatemala, Salvador, and Nicaragua, the value of the coffee exports far exceeds those of all other exports put together, and in Costa Rica coffee represented the largest export values of any single commodity. Even in Honduras it is grown in considerable quantities, though chiefly for local consumption. The coffee industry is carried on principally by native plantation owners and worked by native labor,

[1] Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America,* page 76.

representing the chief item in the national wealth of the country. Next to this in importance comes the banana industry, of chief importance in Honduras, Costa Rica, and Guatemala, but followed also in Nicaragua. This activity is carried on practically wholly by the United Fruit Company, an American corporation, and the officers and employees are Americans and Jamaica negroes. Third in export values come the precious metals, exported in considerable quantities from all the Central-American states except Guatemala. In Salvador indigo ranked next after coffee in the value of exports in 1918, while in Nicaragua timber took second place. Other products exported from all the countries are hides and rubber, while sugar was exported in 1918 from all of them except Costa Rica. The bulk of all the import and export trade of the whole region is with the United States.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala is governed under the Constitution promulgated December 11, 1879, and amended in 1887, 1897, and 1903. Two other Constitutions, those of 1851 and of 1876, had preceded the present instrument, after Guatemala had ceased to be a part of the Central-American Federation.

Organization of the Government. The Republic of Guatemala is a unitary state, the government of which is based on the theoretical separation of powers into the threefold division of legislative, executive, and judicial, which are declared to be wholly independent of each other. Nationality is determined both by birth in the republic and by Guatemalan parentage, and includes also persons belonging to any of the other Central-American states who are resident in the republic, unless they make formal declaration of desire to retain their original nationality. Citizenship, that is active and passive suffrage, is enjoyed by all Guatemalans over twenty-one years of age who have an income, business, occupation, or profession sufficient for their livelihood, as well as by all members of the military over eighteen years of age. A special title states the personal guaranties, among which is enumerated free, compulsory, and laical, primary instruction.

Freedom of religion is also guaranteed, but religious orders are forbidden. The usual guaranties are enumerated, not including, however, the right of jury trial. But all the personal guaranties may be suspended by the President in time of war or public disturbance, with the approval of the Council of Ministers.

The legislature consists of a single chamber called the National Assembly comprising sixty-nine members (one for every twenty thousand inhabitants) elected by direct popular vote for four years, one-half retiring every biennium. In addition to the customary legislative jurisdiction, the National Assembly enjoys the power of canvassing the returns of the popular vote for President, and of electing, in case no candidate has received an absolute majority of the popular vote, the President from among the three highest candidates. It also selects two substitutes (*designados*) to act, in the order indicated, in case of incapacity of the President. It may also impeach the President and other high officials. Laws may be passed over the executive veto by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly. By a similar vote the National Assembly may declare the necessity of amendments to the Constitution. But such amendments are framed by a special constituent assembly, the National Assembly being dissolved and new elections held after the adoption of the amendments. The National Assembly also elects five members of the Council of State and selects a permanent commission of seven of its members to act in the recess of the Assembly.

The executive power is lodged in a President, chosen for six years by direct popular vote. He enjoys the broad executive powers characteristic of Latin-American Executives. He acts through the medium of six Secretaries of State, appointed and removed by him, one of whom must countersign every official act, and both the President and the Secretaries are made responsible for their official acts. The Secretaries report to the National Assembly and may attend its sessions and take part in its deliberations, but without vote. The Secretaries of State, together with nine councilors, four chosen by the President and five by the National Assembly, constitute the Council of State, whose func-

tion is purely advisory. The judiciary consists of a supreme court of five members, six courts of appeal of three members each, and twenty-six courts of first instance. The judges are chosen by direct popular vote and serve for a term of four years. For purposes of local government the country is divided into twenty-three departments. The government of the department is lodged in the hands of a prefect (*jefe político*) appointed by the President of the Republic. Within the departments there are a number of municipalities whose councils are chosen by direct popular vote and possess the power of raising revenues required for their functions. The prefect is empowered to amend the ordinances governing each town within his department.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The theoretical monetary unit of Guatemala is the silver peso, with a nominal value of $0.90 U. S. Currency. But the actual medium of exchange is inconvertible paper, with a fluctuating exchange value, and nickel and copper coins of smaller denomination. The budget for 1918-1919 called for revenues of 110,937,325 paper dollars or pesos, and expenditures of 77,666,023. The chief revenues are customs duties, which amount to about four-fifths of the total. The export tax on coffee represents another important item. The chief item of expenditure is in connection with the service of the external public debt, which in 1918 amounted to 2,301,563 pounds sterling.

The Government in Operation. The overthrow in December, 1921, of the government of President Herrera by a military *coup* headed by General Orellana marks the most recent instance of change of government by revolutionary as distinguished from constitutional methods in Latin America. The long *régime* of Estrada Cabrera, who was at the head of the government from 1898 to 1920, together with the earlier rule of the dictator Carrera (1844-1865) combined to give Guatemalan history a greater freedom from violent changes of government than was experienced by most of the other Central-American states. But this very freedom from successful revolutions, desirable as it might have been in itself, and advantageous as it undoubtedly

was in many ways for the country, was purchased at the cost of the most absolute military despotism on the isthmus. Of popular government as we understand it there was never a trace, due to the "dense ignorance and the oppressed condition of the masses of the people, combined with the bitter factional strife among the upper classes, where party hatred has probably been stronger than in any of the other Central-American countries." [1]

Under such conditions, not only popular government but even constitutional government has been lacking. The President rules by military force and makes the legislative and the judicial branches of the government, supposedly independent under the Constitution, mere tools for the accomplishment of his purposes. An elaborate spy system keeps close watch on all persons suspected of opposition to the government, and it is dangerous to express an opinion on political matters even in private conversation. As the courts cannot be relied on to do justice to anyone persecuted or oppressed by the government, not only political but even civil liberty is obtainable only at the price of complete subservience to the administration. The result has been in Guatemala that changes of government can be brought about only by the process of revolution, and as the bulk of the Indian population is wholly indifferent as to what persons wield the political and economic supremacy over them, and as the landholding and business interests, largely under the control of foreigners, are opposed to revolutionary measures as endangering their economic prosperity, a strong individual or faction can continue in office for a generation or more in spite of personal oppression and political despotism. From all appearances, therefore, it will be a long time before there is any approach in governmental practice to the norms and ideals laid down in the Constitution.

SALVADOR

Salvador, or as the country is officially designated, El Salvador, is governed under the Constitution of August 13, 1886, the sixth adopted since the dissolution of the Central-American Federation of which Salvador formed a part.

[1] Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America,* page 53.

Organization of the Government. The government of Salvador is described by the Constitution as republican, democratic, representative, and alternative, divided into three distinct and independent powers, the legislative, executive, and judicial. A special title enumerates a long list of personal guaranties, including, as in Guatemala, religious freedom, the prohibition of monastic orders, and compulsory, free, laical, primary instruction. As in Guatemala also a state of siege may be declared by the legislature, or in its recess by the Executive, in case of war or internal disturbance. A special law determines the manner and extent to which the individual guaranties enumerated in the Constitution become suspended during the continuance of the state of siege. Nationality is acquired by birth or naturalization, native citizenship being governed by both *jus loci* and *jus sanguinis*. Active citizenship, that is, the right of active and passive suffrage, is enjoyed by all male Salvadoreans eighteen years of age, or if less than eighteen if married or holders of a literary degree.

The legislative branch consists of a single chamber known as the National Assembly of Deputies. There are forty-two deputies, three for each of the fourteen departments, elected for one year, the total membership being renewed each year, but re-election being permitted. Two alternates are also chosen in each department. The election is by direct popular vote, the departments being divided into two or more districts each, and these in turn into towns. The Assembly meets each year in February for forty days in ordinary session, but may be convoked in extraordinary session by the Executive. Its members enjoy the customary immunities and the chamber has control over the qualifications of its members and the organization and procedure of the body. The Assembly possesses the legislative power in its broadest extent, including the right to declare war and to ratify all treaties. Laws passed by the Assembly if vetoed by the Executive may be repassed by a two-thirds vote. In addition to its ordinary legislative functions the Assembly may by a two-thirds vote declare the necessity of amending the

Constitution in any particular, such vote to be ratified by the succeeding Assembly. Such amendments may be adopted, however, only by a special convention called for that purpose, and the provisions prohibiting the re-election of President, Vice-President, and substitutes, and fixing their term of office at four years, are declared to be incapable of alteration. The Assembly furthermore enjoys a measure of appointing power, as it selects the members of the Supreme Court, the Comptrollers of the Treasury, and the three substitutes to act in turn in the office of President in case of incapacity of the President and Vice-President. It canvasses the returns for the election of President and Vice-President and selects the same from among the three highest candidates if none has received an absolute majority of the popular vote. It is empowered to approve or disapprove the acts of the Executive and may impeach the President and the higher functionaries, who are then tried by the superior courts. Finally, it enjoys the power of granting amnesties and pardons, the latter on recommendation only of the Supreme Court.

The executive power is vested in the President of the Republic elected for four years by direct popular vote, and ineligible until after the expiration of a like period. A Vice-President is elected at the same time and in the same manner as the President. The President enjoys full executive, administrative, political, and diplomatic powers, but acts through four Ministers appointed and removed by him. All decrees, decisions, orders, and rules made by the President must be countersigned and published by the respective Ministers, who assume responsibility therefor. But, as in other Latin-American countries having this provision, this responsibility is legal not political, and involves no recognition of the principles of parliamentary government.

The judiciary consists of one supreme court of three members, a superior court of four members, and an appellate court, all the judges of these courts being selected for two years by the Assembly. The judges of the inferior courts are appointed by the Supreme Court.

Local government is carried on in the departments by governors

appointed by the President. The towns are given a local council, popularly elected with a measure of autonomy guaranteed them over local economic and administrative affairs, with the power of raising and spending revenues.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The finances of Salvador are theoretically on a gold basis, the colón or peso being equivalent to $0.50 U. S. currency. But the actual silver peso has a fluctuating value, normally about $0.40 in U. S. currency. The budget estimates for 1919 amounted to about $8,000,000 each in revenues and expenditures. The chief sources of revenue are the customs duties and the liquor tax, which together furnish three-fourths of the revenues. The chief item of expenditure is the public debt service, the foreign debt of Salvador at the end of 1919 amounting to about 1,000,000 pounds sterling. The expenses of the army comes next in size and about $500,000 a year are spent for education, there being in 1916 about a thousand primary schools with some 57,000 pupils, twenty-seven secondary schools, and a national university.[1]

The Government in Operation. For seventy-five years after the declaration of independence Salvador was politically one of the most disturbed of the Central-American countries, and revolutions and military *coups* were the order of the day. But this disturbed condition was due more to the interference of political leaders in Guatemala and Nicaragua with the politics of Salvador than to factional strife at home. Since the beginning of the twentieth century and especially since the Washington Conference of 1907, such outside interference has largely ceased, and political conditions in the country have on the whole been very orderly, though the half-breed population in Salvador is more turbulent and less awed by authority than in Guatemala. Of real democracy, that is of an effective public opinion and free participation in the electoral process, there is practically none, any more than in Guatemala. The government is dominated by the President, but the legislature and the courts, particularly the Supreme Court, while not co-ordinate branches of the government, are freer

[1] See Munro, *op. cit.*, pages 103-112.

from executive domination than in Guatemala. The chief support of the government is still the army, which is better trained and better equipped than that of any other Central-American country. It is disproportionately large for the needs and the wealth of the country, and requires funds which are badly needed for internal improvements, education, and public health. But it has the merit of discouraging the revolutionary habit. On the whole, the administration of public affairs in Salvador is considerably less corrupt and somewhat more efficient than in Guatemala, Nicaragua, or Honduras.

HONDURAS

Honduras is governed by the Constitution promulgated on October 14, 1894, the third after the dissolution of the Central-America Federation.[1] It was prepared and decreed by a constituent assembly and promulgated by President Policarpo Bonilla. The fundamental laws relating to the press, the writ of *amparo,* elections, and the state of siege were all enacted within six months after the promulgation of the Constitution, but have been modified to some extent since that time.

Organization of the Government. The government of Honduras is described in the Constitution as republican, democratic, and representative, organized on the basis of the three independent powers, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The fundamental rights of inviolability of human life, of security of the individual, of liberty, of equality, and of property are guaranteed by the Constitution to all inhabitants, whether nationals or aliens. These rights include, in addition to the more customary ones, the abolition of the death penalty and the writ of *habeas corpus,* but not trial by jury. But, as elsewhere in Latin America, a state of siege may be declared in case of war or

[1] Rodríguez, in his *American Constitutions,* gives the text of a Constitution promulgated on September 2, 1904, as the existing instrument, repealing the Constitution of 1894. But this Constitution was promulgated during the first presidency of Manuel Bonilla who was defeated and driven out of the country in 1907, and the present government of Honduras does not recognize the validity of the new instrument, retaining the Constitution of 1894 as the one in effect.

internal disturbance, having the effect of suspending the individual guaranties, with exception of the prohibitions, against the death penalty, cruel punishment, and confiscation or perpetual sentences. Nationality is determined by birth and naturalization, nationality by birth being governed by the double principles of the *jus sanguinis* and the *jus soli*. Citizenship, or the active and passive suffrage, is enjoyed by all male nationals over twenty-one years of age, and by those over eighteen who either are married or can read and write. The usual provisions are contained in the Constitution relating to the suspension and loss of citizenship. Voting is compulsory, direct, and secret, according to the Constitution. Inscription in the voters' lists is required by the election law.

The legislature consists of a single chamber called the Congress. It comprises forty-two members chosen by direct popular vote, on the basis of one member for each 10,000 inhabitants, re-eligible and renewed by halves every two years. The Congress meets in regular session on the first of January of each year for sixty days, with the possibility of extending the sessions for another forty days. Alternates are elected for each congressman at the same time with the latter. In addition to the customary powers of internal organization, the usual privileges and immunities of members, and a broad extent of ordinary legislative powers, the Congress enjoys some special powers. Among these may be mentioned especially the right to canvass the votes for President, Vice-President, and judges of the Supreme Court, and to elect the candidates for any or all of these offices from among the three highest, in case no one has received an absolute majority of the popular vote for one or more of them. The Congress also selects a first, second, and third substitute to serve as executive in the order named, in case of incapacity of both President and Vice-President. It impeaches all of these officers as well as the Secretaries of State, the Deputies themselves, and the diplomatic representatives. It audits the public accounts of all officers, declares war, makes peace, and ratifies all treaties. It appoints the members of the Court of Accounts and the Comp-

troller of the Treasury. Finally it may, by a two-thirds vote, declare the need of amending the Constitution in whole or in part, and call a constituent assembly to frame and adopt the necessary amendments. The so-called constituent laws may be amended by the Congress by a two-thirds vote in two successive sessions. In the process of ordinary legislation the President enjoys the power of veto, which may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the Congress. But the veto power does not extend to the acts of the Congress in relation to elections, impeachment, the budget, internal organization, control of the executive acts, or treaties.

The executive power is vested in a President elected by direct popular vote for four years, ineligible to re-election in the term immediately following. A Vice-President is elected at the same time and for the same period. The President is made chief of the administration and enjoys also extensive legislative, political, military, and diplomatic powers. He acts through five Ministers appointed by him, who together constitute the Council of Ministers and assume joint and several liability for the executive acts which they approve, such approval being evidenced by their countersignature, which is requisite for the validity of every executive act.

The judicial power is exercised by a supreme court of five judges elected directly by the people, four appellate courts, and inferior courts, the judges of which are selected by the Supreme Court. The justices of the peace are chosen by popular election in the municipal districts.

For purposes of local government the country is divided into departments and municipalities. There are seventeen departments, at the head of each of which for administrative purposes is an officer appointed and removed by the President. The municipalities are guaranteed a considerable measure of local autonomy by the Constitution, their administration being directed by councils chosen by direct popular election and carried out by officials of their own selection.

Finances and Functions of the Government. In respect to

finances, the government of Honduras is in the worst position of any of the Central-American republics, for it is the only one that has not made any arrangements for the service of the foreign debt. No interest has been paid on this debt since 1872, the principal amounting to over 5,000,000 pounds sterling and the arrears in interest up to January 1, 1921, to over 22,000,000 pounds more. The monetary unit is the silver peso, but the actual currency used is largely United States bills and small coins which have been made legal tender at one hundred per cent premium, or one dollar equal to two pesos. The chief revenues of the republic are from customs duties and the taxes on spirits, tobacco, and powder, which are government monopolies. The annual expenditures of the government during the last few years have amounted to something over $2,000,000, the chief item of expenditure being for the army, although by the Washington treaties of 1907 Honduras was neutralized. Education is supported chiefly by the municipalities, but the central government contributes a share of the expenses of primary education and supports secondary schools, and a university at Tegucigalpa.

The government of Honduras has always been and is to-day a military despotism, where all branches of the administration are under the absolute control of the President. Graft and favoritism are as much in evidence as in the neighboring countries, and the public offices, occupied exclusively by the friends of those in power, are swept clean and refilled after each successful revolution.[1] The stability of the government in Honduras has suffered more perhaps than that of Salvador even, by the interference of her neighbors, particularly Nicaragua, in her internal affairs.

NICARAGUA

Nicaragua is governed under the Constitution framed in November, 1911, promulgated on December 21st of the same year and effective on March 1, 1912. This Constitution is the seventh since the dissolution of the Central-American Federation.

Organization of the Government. The form of government

[1] Munro, *op. cit.*, page 125.

prescribed by the Constitution is described as republican, democratic, representative, and unitary, and founded on the principle of the threefold division into independent powers.

Nationality is acquired by birth on the dual principle of the *jus sanguinis* and the *jus loci,* and by naturalization, natives of any of the other Central-American countries being eligible to naturalization upon the mere declaration of a desire to become Nicaraguans. Other Latin Americans can become naturalized after one year of residence in the country, while other aliens must reside two years in the country. The right of active and passive suffrage and the right to bear arms is extended to all male nationals twenty-one years of age, and to those eighteen years of age who either are married or can read and write. Individual security, liberty, equality, and property are guaranteed to all inhabitants, whether nationals or aliens, comprising the usual rights of liberty of thought, the press, of speech, *habeas corpus,* and protection of the accused. By the declaration of a state of siege, however, these individual guaranties may, with certain exceptions, be suspended.

Nicaragua alone of the Central-American countries has adopted the bicameral principle in the organization of the legislature. The Congress consists of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The former comprises thirteen members, one from each of the departments into which the country is divided, chosen by direct popular election for a period of six years, renewed by thirds every two years. The latter comprises forty Deputies chosen in the same manner by the departments and the two districts, on the basis of one Deputy for each 15,000 inhabitants. The term of office of Deputies is four years and the membership is renewed by halves every two years. Alternates are elected at the same time for both Senators and Deputies.

The two chambers enjoy individually the control over their internal organization and the right to judge of the qualifications and election of their members. Their members enjoy the customary privileges of freedom from arrest and immunity for opinions expressed in the exercise of their functions. The two

chambers share equally in the legislative function, except that revenue measures must originate in the lower house. Laws passed by both chambers may be vetoed by the President and must then be repassed by a two-thirds vote in each chamber. The chambers meet in joint session for certain purposes, such as canvassing the votes for President and Vice-President and electing these officers in case no candidate has received a majority of the popular vote, for choosing the substitutes to act in case of incapacity of both President and Vice-President, for electing the judges of the supreme and appellate courts, for accepting the resignation of such judges and of the Executive, for impeaching the chief executive and judicial officers as well as members of the two chambers, and for receiving the constitutional oath of office of the officers mentioned above. The Congress meets in regular session on December 15th of each year for forty-five days, and if necessary for fifteen days longer, and in special session when convoked by the Executive. The legislative power of the Congress covers all ordinary matters of legislation and extends to the amendment of the Constitution by a two-thirds vote in both chambers, ratified after an interval of two years by a similar vote. Total revision of the Constitution may be decreed by the Congress, but must be undertaken by a special constituent assembly.

The executive power in exercised by a President elected by direct popular vote for a term of four years, being ineligible for re-election in the succeeding term. A Vice-President is elected at the same time, an absolute majority of votes being required, lacking which the Congress selects these officers from among the two highest candidates. The President is the chief of the nation and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He is in general charge of the administration and exercises his functions through the medium of five Ministers appointed by him, whose countersignature is requisite for the validity of his acts. They are severally and jointly responsible for the measures which they approve, but this responsibility is a legal one enforceable through the process of impeachment, not a political one. They may attend

the sessions of the Congress and take part in the debates, but have no vote. Except in regard to matters of war and foreign relations, they are at all times subject to interpellation by the chambers.

The judicial department of government comprises a supreme court of five justices chosen for six years by the Congress, three appellate courts of six and three justices respectively chosen by the Congress for four years, and inferior courts whose judges are appointed by the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court tries the high officials impeached by the Congress.

For purposes of internal administration the country is divided into thirteen departments and two districts, at the head of each of which there is a prefect appointed by the President. Within the departments there are municipalities, which are guaranteed by the Constitution the right to choose their own councils by direct popular election, with the power to levy local taxes subject to approval of the central authorities, to enact local ordinances, subject to a like approval and to appoint local officials. As generally in Latin America, however, the municipalities enjoy no real local autonomy.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The theoretical monetary unit of Nicaragua is the gold *córdoba,* equivalent to the American dollar, but no gold coins have been struck and the actual currency is inconvertible paper, of which there were in circulation at the end of 1919 over three and a half million *córdobas,* with the exchange at two to five per cent. The principle source of income is the customs duties, which have been administered for the most part since 1912 by agents of the North American banks which loaned money to the government, bought a controlling interest in the stock of the national railway, and took over the management of the national bank. The chief expenditures are those connected with the service of the foreign debt, which amounted at the end of 1919 to more than a million pounds sterling. Under the treaty of 1916 with the United States, the latter country was to pay Nicaragua the sum of $3,000,000 in return for the grant of a right of way for an inter-

oceanic canal and a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, the money to be used for the service of the national debt and other public purposes in a manner to be determined by the two contracting parties. Since the decrease of customs duties and the demoralization of exchange due to the World War, scarcely any funds have been available in Nicaragua for anything more than the payment of salaries and the service of the national debt.

The Government in Operation. Until 1912 the political history of Nicaragua was a succession of almost uninterrupted bloody revolutions and scarcely less bloody military dictatorships. With the intervention of the United States in that year and the stationing of a permanent legation guard of marines in the capital, the revolutionary disturbances were quelled, but at the expense of depriving the people of Nicaragua of the right to manage, or mismanage, their own political affairs. The elections held since that time have been conducted under the control of the United States and both President Emiliano Chamorro (1917-1920) and his nephew President Diego Chamorro (1920-1924) have had the deciding support of the United States, although their party and their policy are opposed by the great majority of the Nicaraguan people. Whatever justification there may be for this policy, and however great the benefits accruing to the country and the people by the military and financial control of their affairs by the United States as compared with the condition of anarchy from which the country has been saved, it is idle to speak of Nicaragua as a sovereign state conducting its own government.

COSTA RICA

The Constitution under which Costa Rica is governed is the oldest of the Central-American fundamental laws and one of the oldest in Latin America. It was promulgated on December 7, 1871, and was the third adopted after the dissolution of the Central-American Federation. Numerous amendments to the Constitution have been made since its original adoption.

Organization of the Government. The government of the republic is described as popular, representative, alternative, and

responsible, and its authority is intrusted to the three independent branches, legislative, executive, and judicial. Nationality is acquired by birth and naturalization, native Costa Ricans including both persons born in the country of whatever parentage and the children of Costa Ricans born abroad. Natives of any one of the other Central-American countries are regarded as native Costa Ricans upon declaration of a desire to become such, provided like privileges are extended in those countries to Costa Ricans. Citizenship, that is, the active and passive suffrage, is enjoyed by all male Costa Ricans twenty years of age, and by those eighteen years of age if married or professors of some science, provided that they own some property or pursue some honest trade sufficient to support them in their station. Civil rights are enjoyed by aliens as well as natives and are guaranteed by enumeration in the Constitution. They comprise the usual rights and immunities, including freedom of religious worship, though the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion is the religion of the state and is supported by it. The personal guaranties are subject to suspension by the legislature, or in its recess by the executive, in time of war or internal disturbance.

The legislature in Costa Rica consists of a single chamber called the Constitutional Congress. It consists of forty-three deputies elected for four years, one-half retiring every two years, on the basis of one Deputy for every eight thousand inhabitants. Originally the Deputies were elected indirectly by electoral assemblies, but by the election law of 1913 the election of Deputies is by direct vote. The Congress meets in regular session on the first of May of each year and remains in session for sixty days with the possibility of extension for another thirty days. The range of powers of the Congress is as extensive in Costa Rica as in the other Central-American countries, and comprises, in addition to the general power of legislation, the right to canvass the returns of the election of President and to select the candidate from among the two highest, in case none has received an absolute majority to select three substitutes for the President; to select the judges of the supreme and appellate courts; to admin-

ister the oaths of office to the judges and to the President; to accept the resignation of the high officials; to pass upon the physical or mental incapacity of the President; to impeach the President and other high officials before the Supreme Court; to ratify all treaties; to fill the higher military positions; and to amend the Constitution. For all ordinary legislation the approval of the Executive is required to render it effective, unless the Congress pass the bill over the executive veto by a two-thirds vote. For the passage of amendments to the Constitution a two-thirds vote is required in two successive regular sessions, no executive approval being necessary. But general revision of the Constitution may be undertaken only by a special constitutional convention called by the Congress for that purpose. During the recess of the Congress a permanent committee consisting of five Deputies selected by the Congress acts provisionally for the Congress, especially in its relations with the Executive.

The executive power is lodged in a President elected for four years, and ineligible for re-election until after the lapse of another term. The election law of 1913 changed the form of election for President from the indirect method originally prescribed by the Constitution to direct popular election. An absolute majority is required, and if any candidate fails to secure such popular majority the election is thrown into the Congress. The powers of the President in Costa Rica are very similar to those of Latin-American executives in general, including legislative, executive, administrative, diplomatic, military, and political functions. He acts through six Ministers appointed by him, who must each in his respective branch of administration countersign the acts of the President before they acquire legal validity. Jointly the Ministers constitute the Council of Government, which acts in an advisory capacity to the President and assumes responsibility for the acts approved by it. The Ministers may attend the sessions of the Congress and take part in the deliberations, but may not vote. They are the ordinary mediums through which bills are introduced by the Executive and are subject to impeachment by the Congress, but do not occupy the position of a politically responsible cabinet.

The judicial department consists of a supreme court of justice of eight members elected for four-year terms by the Congress and divided for purposes not requiring decision by the full bench into two sections. The judges of the appellate and inferior courts are named by the Supreme Court. In addition to the ordinary judicial functions intrusted to the courts, the Supreme Court tries the impeachment charges brought by the Congress against the high officials.

For purposes of internal administration the country is divided into seven provinces, and these into cantons and districts. At the head of each province there is a governor appointed by the President and acting as his agent for purposes of general administration. The capitals of the provinces are organized as municipalities with locally elected officers and control over municipal finances. But the range of local activity is greatly restricted in Costa Rica, as in Latin-American countries generally, by the limited financial resources of the municipalities, which are dependent on the central government for the execution of public works.

Finances and Functions of the Government. The monetary unit in Costa Rica is the gold *colón,* of a par value of $0.465 in U. S. currency. The currency in common use consists of bank notes backed by gold and other assets, and foreign coins, particularly U. S. money, circulate as legal tender. The chief revenues are derived from customs and excise taxes, though direct taxation is employed to a larger extent than generally in Central America. The chief item of public expenditure, as in most of the other Central-American republics, is the service of the foreign debt, which amounted in Costa Rica to nearly 3,000,000 pounds sterling at the end of 1920. But unlike the other Central-American republics, expenditures for military purposes do not consume most of the remaining funds. In fact, Costa Rica prides herself on spending more money on her schools than on her army, and on having more school-teachers than soldiers. Public works also have received more attention in the budgets of Costa Rica than in the other countries of Central America, and

in the last years, with the encouragement and aid of the International Health Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation, remarkable progress has been made in the elimination of the hookworm and the general improvement of sanitary conditions.

The Government in Operation. Of all the states of Central America, Costa Rica comes nearest to having governmental theory and practice accord. While it can hardly be regarded as having a popular government in the sense of control by the organized public opinion of the mass of the people, yet the power of the President in actual affairs is less than elsewhere in Central America, real elections are held, the Congress asserts some measures of independence, and the courts have escaped the domination of the Executive which has proven so pernicious in the other countries considered. Disorders of a serious nature are rare, there is real liberty of opinion and of the press, and graft and bribery are less prevalent than in the other republics of Central America, though it is true that a President was overthrown by a military *coup* as late as 1917.

PANAMA

Panama as an Independent Republic. Panama, the youngest of the Latin-American republics, dates its separate existence from November 3, 1903, when it revolted and declared its independence from Colombia, of which country it had until that formed a department. The *de facto* revolutionary government was recognized by the United States on November 6th, and a week later Bunau-Varilla was received at Washington as diplomatic representative of the Republic of Panama. On November 18th the treaty with Panama was signed, by which the United States guaranteed the independence of Panama in return for the cession of the Canal Zone, the United States agreeing to pay $10,000,000 and after nine years an annual rental of $250,000. On February 13, 1904, the Constitution of the new Republic of Panama was adopted, and ten days later the United States ratified the Canal Treaty.

It is not possible here to enter in detail into the antecedents of the Panama revolution. Briefly stated, Panama was established as an independent republic because President Roosevelt had decided upon the Panama route as the best one for the interoceanic canal, and Colombia, by the rejection of the treaty ratified by the United States on March 17, 1903, appeared unwilling to grant the concession on reasonable terms. From the point of view of international law, the action of the United States government in relation to the revolution in Panama constituted intervention, and a kind of intervention which could not be justified on legal grounds. The fact that by means of this intervention the building of the Panama Canal, a project of such importance to the whole civilized world, was hastened if not indeed made possible, furnished arguments of a general nature in justification of the means adopted to accomplish such an important end. But to Colombia and the rest of Latin America such general arguments paled into insignificance, compared with the clear violation of international law involved in the procedure.

Under the treaty with the United States, Panama, in spite of the cession of a strip of territory ten miles wide and the sanitary and police control accorded to the United States in the cities of Colón and Panama, is recognized as an independent, sovereign state. But the necessity of protecting the canal route against dangers of wars or revolutions, as well as the circumstances of the origin of the independent country, leave Panama free to conduct the government only in a way acceptable to the United States.

GENERAL FEATURES

Although historically Panama belongs to South America, having been a part of Colombia until 1903, geographically it belongs to Central America and shows many of the physical features characteristic of the countries considered above. With a long coast line on both oceans, it extends from west to east in a double curve between Costa Rica and Colombia and covers an area of 33,667 square miles. The extreme length of the

CENTRAL AMERICA
AND
THE ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN SEA

Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100 125 150 175 200

GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC., N. Y.

country is about 480 miles, while the distance between the oceans varies from as little as 37 miles at the narrowest point to 110 miles. In the western portion there are mountain ranges, constituting continuations of the Costa Rican cordillera. East of the Canal there are some scattered ranges along the Atlantic coast. Right at the Canal Zone the hills are lowest, the highest elevation of the Canal itself being eighty-five feet above sea level. Owing to the configuration of the country there are no large rivers, most of them being short streams running from the interior to the oceans. The most important stream is the Chagres, arising in the San Blas cordillera, which was dammed in the construction of the Canal to form Gatun Lake with a surface area of 164 square miles. Owing to the absence of any considerable elevated plateaus, such as are found in the countries of Central America, the climate of the inhabited portion of the country is more tropical, the whole of the country lying below the tenth parallel and the country being somewhat cut off from the trade winds. The average annual temperature is about 80° with a small range of variation and a heavy annual rainfall.[1] The effect of the measures of sanitation introduced in the Canal Zone have shown, however, that under sanitary conditions the climate is healthful.

The population of Panama was given in the Census of 1920 as 401,428, exclusive of uncivilized Indians, of whom there are estimated to be some 35,000. The bulk of the population are mestizos, with a considerable admixture of negro blood. Nearly a fourth of the total population of the country is concentrated in the two cities of Colón and Panama, one at the Atlantic and the other at the Pacific end of the Panama Canal. The interior is but sparsely settled and in large part uncultivated.

Constitution and Government. Panama is governed under the Constitution framed and adopted on February 13, 1904, and amended in 1906, 1917, and 1918. The government is designated as republican and democratic, based on the separation of powers into the three independent powers, legislative, executive, and

[1] On the Atlantic coast 140 inches a year; on the Pacific 60 inches.

judicial. Nationality by birth is governed by the dual principles of the *jus sanguinis* and the *jus loci*. Nationality by naturalization is open to foreigners who follow any profession, art, or industry, or own real estate or investment in the country, after ten years of residence. If married and having a family in Panama, six years are sufficient, and if married to a native woman, three years. Citizenship, that is, the active and passive suffrage, is enjoyed by all male Panamanians, not laboring under some legal disability, who are twenty-one years of age. Individual rights are guaranteed in a special title of thirty-three articles and include the usual enumeration of guaranties, including liberty of religious worship, though the Roman Catholic Church is recognized as the religion of the majority of the inhabitants and entitled to support. The guaranties relating to freedom of travel, arrest without warrant, freedom of speech and of the press, inviolability of correspondence, and inviolability of property, may be suspended in case of grave public danger, by act of the legislature or of the Executive if the legislature be not in session.

The legislative power is vested in a unicameral body called the National Assembly, consisting of thirty-three members elected by direct popular vote, on the basis of one deputy for every ten thousand inhabitants, for a term of four years.[1] A like number of alternates are elected at the same time. The Assembly meets biennially on September first for ninety days, with the possibility of extension to one hundred and twenty days. Special sessions may be called by the Executive at any time. The legislative powers of the Assembly are broad and cover all the usual matters determined by legislation, subject to a veto by the Executive, which can be overridden by two-thirds vote. It enjoys in addition judicial powers in the impeachment of the high executive and judicial officers of the nation, and administrative powers in the election of the attorney-general, judges of the Court of

[1] An amendment of December 26, 1918, extended the term of the Deputies elected in 1918 until 1924, the four-year-term provision to become effective thereafter.

Accounts, auditors of the Treasury, and boundary commissions. The amendment of the Constitution is accomplished by the ratification by a two-thirds vote of the Assembly of amendments adopted by the preceding legislature.

The executive power is lodged in a President of the Republic chosen by direct popular vote for a term of four years, and ineligible for re-election until eighteen months after the termination of his office. A Vice-President is elected in the same manner, at the same time, and for the same term as the President. The President enjoys the usual powers, legislative, executive, administrative, military, and political. He performs his functions through the medium of five Ministers appointed by him, who together constitute the Cabinet. Every act of the President must be countersigned and published by the respective Ministers, who thereby assume a legal responsibility therefor. The Ministers may attend the sessions of the Assembly, introduce measures and take part in the debates, but have no vote. They are subject to interpellation by the Assembly and to impeachment for malfeasance in office, but are not under the political necessity of having the support of a majority of the Assembly.

The judiciary consists of a supreme court of five members appointed for four years by the President, and inferior courts whose judges are appointed by the tribunals immediately superior to them. The Attorney-General is elected for five years by the National Assembly.

For purposes of local government the country is divided into eight provinces, at the head of each of which there is a governor elected by direct popular vote for four years.[1] The provinces are divided into municipal districts with a municipal council and an *alcalde,* both chosen by direct popular vote. The municipalities are guaranteed a measure of local autonomy by the Constitution, but may not incur indebtedness without the approval of the National Assembly.

The theoretical monetary unit in Panama is the gold *balboa,* the equivalent of the American dollar. But the actual medium

[1] Amendment of March 15, 1917, Art. 5.

of exchange is the silver peso of half that value, and foreign coins, especially of the United States, which circulate freely at face value. The national budget amounts to something over $7,000,000, the chief revenues coming from customs duties. There are no expenditures for military purposes, as there is no army, but a national police force of about one thousand officers and men preserves internal order. Education, sanitation, and road building are receiving ever-increasing attention and involve increased expenditures. The foreign debt of the country amounts to some $3,000,0000, issued in the United States for railway construction and other public improvements.

CHAPTER XII

THE ISLAND REPUBLICS: CUBA, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, HAITI.[1]

I. Cuba

Methods of Treatment. The historical evolution of Cuba stands somewhat apart from that of the other Spanish-American states. Until almost the end of the nineteenth century this magnificent island remained a part of Spain's vastly diminished overseas domain. The history of Cuba consequently offers an interesting study of the last phases of the Spanish system in America and of the futile efforts of the metropolis to adapt her colonial policy to modern conditions. Owing to her location and the character of her products, the destiny of Cuba could not fail to be an object of peculiar concern to the United States. Since the achievement of independence, due in large part to the intervention of the country to the north, the political and economic relations of the Republic of Cuba and the United States have become increasingly close. Our survey will include some discussions of the problems confronting Cuba while still under Spanish rule, the causes which made independence inevitable, and the situation both internal and international resulting from the establishment of the republic.

Summary of Cuban History to 1825. Until the second half of the eighteenth century the history of Cuba was comparatively uneventful. Due to the greed and cruelty of the Spanish conquerors and early settlers, the native population was entirely killed off and negro slaves were introduced in large numbers. Spain's neglect of Cuba's almost unrivaled resources appears from the fact that her budget showed a deficit which had to be

[1] See inset map in map of Central America, facing page 372.

met by a grant from New Spain. Prior to 1765 Cuba did not produce enough sugar to meet the needs of the mother country. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the basis of the island's wealth was the extensive contraband trade, which sprang up as the result of Spain's commercial restrictions and the presence in the Caribbean of the British, Dutch, and French. Cuba's economic awakening resulted largely from external pressure. From the ten months' occupation of Havana by the British in 1762, in a sense, dates the modern history of the island. Ports were opened to British ships with the result that, during the brief period, instead of the usual five or six merchant vessels 727 touched at Havana. Charles III, profiting by this example, opened the trade of the island to all parts of Spain and relaxed many oppressive commercial restrictions. Cuba now entered upon an era of material advance and her prosperity was further increased as a result of the struggle for independence elsewhere in Spanish America. Loyalists from the revolting colonies fled to Cuba in large numbers, greatly raising the percentage of Spanish inhabitants; according to Humboldt, Cuba in 1825 had a population of 715,000, of which 325,000 were whites.

In yet other ways fortune smiled upon Cuba at this time. The abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the British West Indies gave the Cuban planters, for a number of years, an uncontested advantage of a cheap labor supply. King Ferdinand VII, on the advice of his ministers, Valiente and Arango, threw open the ports of Cuba to the world's commerce, although Spanish imports were protected by a differential tariff. The great sugar market of England, France, and the United States now held out almost limitless possibilities to the Cuban planters. The future of Cuba was to depend upon the intelligent utilization of these exceptional advantages; were Spain wise enough to profit by her lessons on the mainland she might still hope to keep the most potentially productive region of her former colonial empire.

Spanish Policy in Cuba. Unhappily, despite these most promising beginnings, Spain's inveterate tendency toward exploitation and exclusion reasserted itself. The tariff constituted a griev-

ance which rankled more and more with the planters. Cuba's best customers were the people of the United States to whom she sold sixty-two per cent of her sugar crop. But since the products of the northern republic, in order to encourage Spanish manufacturing and to yield additional revenue, were subject to differential duties, the United States retaliated by placing differential duties on Cuban sugar amounting to about one-third of its selling value. This purblind policy of Spain of attempting to alter the normal action of economic laws by thwarting the growing commercial affiliation between the two regions was fated to bring a terrible nemesis upon the mother country. The danger did not escape the attention of foreign observers. The great French economist, Leroy-Beaulieu, apropos of the agitation in 1884 for a commercial treaty between Cuba and the United States, wrote: "Let Spain make haste. If she does not profoundly reform the economic legislation and the administrative organization of Cuba, soon the Queen of the Antilles will be irrevocably lost to her."[1]

The loyalty of the Cubans was continually put to a further test by the preference accorded Spaniards in the allotment of public offices. The administration, moreover, was cumbersome, overloaded with functionaries and extraordinarily expensive. Taxes were both capricious and exorbitant. Enormous fortunes were made by higher officials and were expended in Spain. The Cuban planters were expected to make gifts for the dowries of the Spanish officials and for their infants' baptismal finery. From these sinecures and perquisites the Cubans were almost entirely debarred.

The administration was not only corrupt but despotic. For a brief period, when the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812 was in effect, the colonists enjoyed a certain degree of political freedom and were allowed to send deputies to the Cortes at Madrid. But in 1825 the captains-general by whom the colony was governed were invested with virtually dictatorial power. As

[1] Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la Colonisation chez les Peuples Modernes*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1891), page 268.

typical of these officials may be mentioned Miguel Tacón, governor from 1834 to 1839. On the pretext of crushing an incipient rebellion, he banished a number of liberal creoles, including the great Cuban writer, Saco, restored an odious military commission, and rode roughshod over the liberties and political rights of the island. At his instance the Cortes refused to admit the Cuban deputies, on the ground that Cuba was to be governed by special laws (*leyes especiales*) yet to be promulgated. Tacón's sole claim to the gratitude of the Cubans was the civic improvements installed in Havana.

Relations with the United States. While Spanish ineptitude was thus slowly forfeiting the good will of the Cubans, the colony began to engage the attention of the people of the United States. During the earlier part of the nineteenth century there was real apprehension lest Cuba, owing to the weakness of Spain, might be acquired by France or Great Britain. To prevent such a consummation, the United States formally assured Spain that she might count on her military and naval resources to maintain the *status quo*. Following the Mexican War, the attitude of the northern republic underwent a change. The desire of the South to secure additional slave territory, the growing belief in the doctrine of manifest destiny, the increasing realization of Cuba's strategic importance, gradually fostered a desire for annexation. In 1848, during Polk's administration, an attempt was made to purchase the island for one hundred million dollars. The United States Minister at Madrid was informed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that "such was the feeling of the country that sooner than see the island transferred to *any power* they (the Spanish people) would prefer seeing it sunk in the ocean." A little later several filibustering expeditions were organized by Narciso López, a South American adventurer, who claimed that Cuba was ripe for revolt. But misfortune dogged his steps; the Cubans evinced no desire to rise to his support and in 1851 López was captured and executed. Three years later, during the presidency of Pierce, the United States Ministers to London, Paris, and Madrid issued at Ostend a manifesto to the effect that,

since Cuba was necessary to the safety of slavery in the southern states of the Union, Spain should sell the island to the United States; and that if Spain, "dead to the voice of her own interest and actuated by . . . a false sense of honor, should refuse to sell Cuba," then in the event that the internal peace of the Union was imperiled, "by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power." The Ostend manifesto stirred up a pother quite disproportionate to its importance. The objectionable features were disavowed by the State Department and the whole matter was officially ignored by Spain. In 1858, under Buchanan's administration, renewed attempts were made to purchase Cuba, but they met with little response in Congress. At the President's instance a bill for the appropriation of thirty million dollars for the purchase of the island was introduced into the Senate, but it never came to a vote. These efforts were prompted by a desire not only to increase slave territory, but also to secure a strategic position in reference to the proposed canal routes across Central America. With the abolition of slavery in the United States and the completion of the Pacific Railroad, these incentives to annexation largely lost their force.

The Ten Years' War. As the century wore on, internal conditions in Cuba showed little signs of improvement. In the sixties was organized a strong Spanish party, whose members were known as "Peninsulares." They were recruited from the official classes, the slave owners, and wealthy planters. The disappearance of slavery in the United States had given them a certain advantage over their competitors, and they naturally identified the cause of slavery with Spanish dominion. Opposed to them were the Creoles or native Cubans. The grievances of this class were many and legitimate. They were the chief sufferers from the corrupt administration and from the *régime* of growing deficits and heavy taxes. Although Cuba had a population of barely a million, the budget of the island rose to thirty million dollars, of which nearly one million dollars was paid out in pensions. Small wonder was it that many of the Creoles adopted the slogan of

"Cuba for the Cubans," and began seriously to consider the separation of the island from Spain, either through their own efforts or with the aid of the United States.

The immediate occasion for the "Ten Years' War," as the first great revolutionary uprising was called, was the overthrow of Queen Isabella in 1868 and the establishment of a short-lived republic in Spain. The Creoles greeted the revolution with enthusiasm, as they expected that the new *régime* would do away with many long-standing abuses and redress their most crying grievances. They were speedily disillusioned. A committee appointed to effect reforms accomplished nothing. Negro emancipation, heartily favored by the Creoles, was indefinitely shelved. At length, when no further concession from the metropolis was to be hoped for, the standard of revolt was raised on October 10, 1868, by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, called by his admirers the "padre de la patria Cubana."

The United States and the Ten Years' War. The Virginius Affair. The war, which dragged on for an entire decade, was marked by cruelties and perfidies on the part of both the Spaniards and the insurgents. Although the Spanish authorities succeeded in confining hostilities to the eastern end of the island, they were unable to suppress the revolt. Naturally, the progress of the struggle was followed with eager interest in the United States. Sympathy for the Cubans was general, and great pressure was brought to bear upon Congress to grant the revolutionists belligerent rights. Filibustering expeditions were extensively organized in United States ports, despite the protests of the Spanish Minister at Washington. The existing tension between the United States and Spain was suddenly raised almost to the breaking point by the so-called *Virginius* affair. This ship, while sailing under American colors and carrying men and supplies to the insurgents, was captured outside Cuban waters by a Spanish cruiser; the crew and passengers were haled before a court at Santiago and fifty-three of the prisoners were executed. Severance of diplomatic relations between the governments of Washington and Madrid seemed imminent. But when the

United States Attorney-General decided that the *Virginius* was improperly carrying the United States flag, and Spain offered to pay indemnities to the families of the men executed and disclaimed any intent of indignity to the United States flag, the episode was regarded as closed.

The Conclusion of the Ten Years' War. The Convention of El Zanjón. In 1878 General Martínez Campos induced the insurgents to accept the convention of El Zanjón. This pact affirmed forgetfulness of the past and gave pledges for the future. Many of the revolutionary leaders were bought off; between nine and ten million dollars was said to have been expended for this purpose. The terms of the convention included abolition of slavery, radical changes in the organic laws and the administration, and the admission of Cuban delegates to the Cortes.

Although Spain lived up to the letter of the pact of El Zanjón, there was little change in the spirit of the administration. Slavery, to be sure, was finally abolished in 1880 and 1886. But of the deputies sent by the island to the Cortes, only about one-fourth were Cuban born; electoral rights were restricted to those who paid 125 pesos annually in taxes. Though the prosperity of the country slowly revived, taxes continued to be capricious and heavy. A typical budget, that of 1884-1885, amounted to over $32,000,000. This was more than $21 *per capita;* by way of contrast, the figures for the British West Indies and the French Antilles were $2.60 and from $4 to $5, respectively. Little was done for education; in the budget estimates "public instruction" appeared under the caption of "various," to which all told $5,000,000 was assigned. "The charges were crushing. They came from a much too numerous military force, and from an administrative waste of which the figures of the budget scarcely give an idea. . . . Never has a colony been so hopelessly exploited by an avaricious and improvident mother country." [1]

The Rebellion of 1896-1898. The War Between the United States and Spain. Had the reforms stipulated in the convention of El Zanjón been honestly and effectively carried out, Spanish

[1] Leroy-Beaulieu, pages 265, 266.

control might have lasted indefinitely. But the concessions promised the Cubans soon proved to be illusory. In its essence the *régime* was one of thinly veiled despotism. An analysis of the existing laws and decrees reveals that in reality there was little dilution of what had always been the cardinal principle of Spanish rule in Cuba. That was, control by the military. The ultimate source of authority was the governor-general, who construed laws to suit his own notion and executed them with military rigor.

In the final instance it was an economic grievance which led to the explosion which sooner or later was inevitable. In 1894 the Blaine reciprocity legislation which had favored the entry of Cuban sugar into the United States was repealed. The results were disastrous. Many of the planters, ground between the millstones of both American and Spanish protection, faced ruin; unemployment increased rapidly and supplied a fertile soil for revolutionary propaganda. In 1896 the agitation led by a number of revolutionists, of whom the most notable was Jose Martí, bore fruit in a general uprising, which unlike the Ten Years' War, soon spread to the western provinces. The struggle was marked by great cruelties and excesses. The rebels adopted the plan of systematically destroying property, especially sugar plantations, on the ground that Spain would never yield the island while it was worth possessing. The Spaniards notably after the arrival of General Weyler—popularly known as "the Butcher"—endeavored to isolate their foes by herding the noncombatants into *reconcentración* camps, a barbarous procedure which entailed immense suffering. Partly as a result of the growing indignation in the United States, this policy of repression was abandoned and Sr. Sagasta, the Liberal Premier, recalled Weyler in the fall of 1897 and offered Cuba a large share of self-government, with her own Constitution and legislature.

The system was never given a fair trial. The revolutionists declared they would have nothing short of complete independence, and in this they were supported by public opinion in the United States. President McKinley, though refusing recognition, sug-

gested the possibility of intervention. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor, by whom will probably never be known. It was evident that with the wave of resentment which swept over the United States only the most sweeping concessions to Cuba could forestall armed intervention. President McKinley proposed an armistice between Spain and the insurgents, pending the negotiation of peace through the mediation of the United States. When Premier Sagasta's reply proved to be evasive, the President determined to submit the whole matter to Congress, which was eager for war. On April 5th Christina, the Queen-Regent, at the instance of the Pope, offered the armistice which the United States had demanded. But President McKinley, despite the acceptance of what had been virtually an ultimatum, delivered his message to Congress on April 11th, asking authority to intervene in Cuba if need be by force. The request was granted on the 19th, and war immediately followed. The details of this struggle may be omitted. After the total destruction of Admiral Cervera's squadron and the surrender of Santiago, Spain requested France to initiate peace negotiations in her behalf. By the treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898, Spain "relinquished" the island of Cuba in trust for its inhabitants. The temporary character of American occupation was made clear when the United States had demanded the withdrawal of Spain. "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

American Occupation. The Platt Amendment. This promise was kept. For three years, however, the American government remained in possession of the island. Under two able military governors, Generals Brooke and Wood, a census was taken, the police force was reorganized, the judicial system reformed, and the school system greatly improved and extended. A systematic campaign of sanitation was undertaken for the suppression of the various diseases which had ravaged the island. The scourge

of yellow fever was eradicated after the discovery that this disease was transmitted by the female *Stegomyia* mosquito. As the time for American withdrawal approached, an election was held for the choice of delegates to a constituent convention. This body met at Havana late in 1900, and on February 12, 1901, adopted a Constitution modeled in the main after that of the United States.

The convention failed, however, to define the relations between Cuba and the United States, whereupon the government of the latter republic insisted on the incorporation in the Cuban Constitution of the so-called Platt amendment as a preliminary to the withdrawal of the American forces. This amendment provided that Cuba should never allow any foreign power to impair its independence in any manner; that the government should contract no debt for which the revenues were inadequate; that the United States should have the right to intervene in Cuba "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty and for the discharging of the obligations" with respect to the rights and properties of Spanish subjects under the Treaty of Paris; that Cuba should provide for the sanitation of her cities, and should lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling and naval stations. With great reluctance and by a vote of sixteen to eleven the Platt amendment was adopted by the convention on June 12, 1901, and it became a part of the Cuban Constitution.

The Presidency of Estrada Palma (1902-1906). By the decision of the Constituent Convention, a general election was to be held on December 31, 1901. On February 24th the presidential electors met and by an overwhelming vote chose Tomás Estrada Palma as the first Executive of the Cuban Republic, and the new President was formally inaugurated on May 20, 1902. It was hardly to be expected that the recently liberated republic, weighed down by the heritage of centuries of corrupt Spanish rule, and demoralized by years of devastating civil war, should at once master the difficult lessons of democracy. The

President was well-meaning and conscientious, but Congress, rent by factional animosities, refused to enact legislation necessary to remedy the most crying abuses of the centralized government inherited from Spanish days. The opponents of Estrada Palma, who soon organized the so-called Liberal Party, included extremists of all classes, many of them hostile to American influence. Much of their strength was to be found among the Negro elements. The Conservatives, as the supporters of the party in power were soon called, included a majority of property owners and substantial business men; they were inclined to look with favor on close co-operation with the United States. That the opposition to the administration did not sooner gain headway was probably due to the increasing commercial prosperity which followed the adoption of a reciprocity convention concluded with the United States in 1903.

Second Occupation by the United States (1906-1909). The re-election of Estrada Palma early in 1906 was followed later in the year by a revolution launched by his opponents on the ground that his election had been dishonestly effected. The situation soon became so critical that Estrada Palma appealed to the United States for aid. Efforts made by President Roosevelt's special envoy, Secretary William H. Taft, to reconcile the contending factions, proved futile. Estrada Palma resigned in despair; Congress adjourned without choosing his successor, and the United States government, though with reluctance, proclaimed on September 26, 1906, a provisional government for the purpose of restoring order and of holding new elections. Taft remained as provisional governor until October 3d, when he was succeeded by Charles E. Magoon, who, through invaluable experience gained as governor of the Canal Zone, was admirably qualified to deal with the trying situation in Cuba. In his message to Congress on December 3d, President Roosevelt made it clear that while the United States had no desire to annex Cuba, it was "absolutely out of the question that the island should continue independent" should "the insurrectionary habit" become "confirmed." On January 23, 1909, after an intervention lasting

over two years, the administration of the United States ceased, and the republic was inaugurated a second time with General José Miguel Gómez as President, and Alfredo Zayas as Vice-President.

The Administration of Gómez (1909-1913). The new Executive was a veteran of the revolt of 1895 against Spain, and one of the outstanding figures of the Liberal party. During the next few years the republic passed through a trying apprenticeship. Once in power, the Liberals lost their cohesion; an ultraliberal or "Young Cuba" faction showed itself strongly antiforeign and anticlerical, while even the moderate group urged the abrogation of the Platt amendment. The Negro population, from whom the Liberals had drawn many of their followers, became restless and threatened to form a party of their own. Charges of corruption and extravagance were made against the Gómez administration; it was alleged that valuable franchises had been granted to foreigners without adequate compensation, and that much graft was involved in contracts for harbor improvements. Owing to serious riots, almost assuming the proportions of a civil war, the United states concentrated a fleet of eight warships at Key West in the spring of 1912. It was generally supposed that another intervention was impending. In the bitterly fought presidential campaign of 1912, the Conservative candidate, General Mario García Menocal, was elected President.

Cuba Under President Menocal (1913-1921). The new President was a distinguished engineer, a business man of wide experience, and a veteran in the war against Spain. He had received his university training in the United States, and on entering his new duties he announced his intention to cement the friendly relations which bound Cuba to the northern republic. "Cuba," he declared in reply to a congratulatory message from President Wilson, "will deserve the unqualified confidence and support of the American people and expects to have their aid in firmly establishing her right of national life." Menocal's first term as Chief Magistrate passed off without serious incident. The President promised economy and financial reform. Some of the concessions so lavishly bestowed by Gómez—notably that granted

for the harbor improvements—were annulled. The Liberals kept up a factious opposition in Congress and for a time threatened to paralyze the government. With much difficulty Menocal secured the passage of a bill authorizing a loan of $15,000,000 to finance certain civic improvements in Havana and to pay the outstanding debts.

In 1916 Menocal ran for the presidency a second time, being opposed by the Liberal candidate, Alfredo Zayas. The election was very close, both sides claiming victory. An appeal was made to the Supreme Court to decide on certain contested votes, but without waiting for a decision the Liberals under ex-President Gómez rose in revolt in the eastern provinces in February, 1917. Secretary Lansing warned the Cubans that the United States could not recognize any government founded on violence. In March four hundred marines were landed at Santiago to help preserve order. Thanks in part to the support of the United States authorities, the rebellion was put down, though not until some of the most fertile sugar-producing regions had been laid waste. On March 20, 1917, Menocal entered upon his second term. The energies of the administration were soon centered in the World War. An account of Cuba's participation in this struggle is given in the concluding chapter of the text. It need only be recorded at this point that President Menocal espoused the cause of the United States and the Allies with great enthusiasm; largely through his efforts a compulsory military service bill was passed in 1918 and the government formally offered to send several thousand trained soldiers and officers to the western front.

The Election of 1920. Alfredo Zayas President. The signing of the armistice was a signal for the recrudesence of local dissensions, and political passions naturally increased as the time for a new election approached. There was a growing conviction among patriotic Cubans that the Cuban electoral law was in need of drastic reform. With the assistance of Major General Crowder of the United States Army a new electoral law was drafted, and was passed in August, 1919. The new act required each voter to possess an identification card and provided for the

public counting of ballots and the recognition of all political parties.

The campaign of 1920 witnessed a new political alignment. The Liberals offered as their candidate General Gómez, ex-President and leader of the abortive revolt of 1917. Opposed to him was Alfredo Zayas, nominated by a coalition of Conservatives and Liberals known as the "National League." Zayas was a lawyer and writer of note, he had held various political positions, including that of Vice-President under Gómez. As the campaign progressed the tension became so marked that the United States government felt constrained to issue a proclamation on August 10th urging the Cubans loyally to support the new voting law and hold a valid election. While disclaiming all intention of interference, the Washington government declared it "would observe the conduct of the election and the spirit in which the law was enforced."

The election took place on November 1st amid tremendous excitement. No official results were announced, owing to the lack of returns from several districts and charges of fraud on both sides. To the critical political situation was now added a financial crisis, caused by the catastrophic drop in the price of sugar. Save possibly on the occasion of the second United States occupation, at no time since the establishment of the republic had the situation in Cuba been so serious. In January, 1921, President Wilson sent General Crowder to Havana on board the warship *Minnesota*. As a result of supplementary elections held in four provinces on March 15th the election of Zayas was confirmed and he was formally inaugurated on May 20th. At the request of the President, General Crowder consented to remain on in Cuba in an advisory capacity. President Zayas now subjected the administration to a thorough overhauling. Rigid economies were enforced; the budget estimates were reduced by over half; a large number of useless employees were dismissed. Yet the economic situation continued so grave that some kind of foreign assistance became imperative. In the autumn of 1922 the Cuban government authorized a loan of $50,000,000, with which it is hoped to restore something like normal conditions.

General Features. Cuba is the largest and most populous of the West Indies and, owing to its beauty and fertility, is appropriately known as the "Pearl of the Antilles." The island occupies a strategic position, dividing the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico into two passages of nearly equal width—the Strait of Florida and the Yucatan Channel. The importance of its proximity to the United States already has been sufficiently stressed. In shape the island is long and narrow, resembling an irregular crescent with its convex to the north and a decided pitch to the south. Its length is about 730 miles and its average width about 50 miles. It has an area of 44,215 square miles, being about the size of Pennsylvania. Although the country in general is open and highly cultivated, it is broken by three mountain systems, known simply as the eastern, central, and western. There are numerous rivers, but all are too short to be navigable for more than a few miles from the coast.

The climate of Cuba is tropical, but the heat is tempered by the prevalence of the northeastern trade winds and the immense stretch of coast line. As in central and southern Mexico, there are two seasons, the dry from November to April, and the hotter, wet season, during which two-thirds of the rainfall occurs. Thanks in large part to the campaign of sanitation begun with the United States occupation, the ravages of tropical diseases have been greatly diminished, while yellow fever, formerly endemic, has disappeared. The rich soil, tropical heat, and abundant rainfall have made Cuba one of the richest and most productive regions in America. The basis of Cuba's prosperity is sugar, the annual production having risen to three and three-quarter million tons, or a third of the world's cane sugar production. Tobacco comes next in importance, the total value of the crop varying from forty to fifty million dollars per annum. Other tropical and subtropical products, such as pineapple, coffee, and sisal, hold out large possibilities of exploitation. There is considerable mineral wealth in the island, notably copper and iron.

According to the census of 1919 the population of Cuba was 2,898,905, of which 74.3 per cent were listed as white and 25.7

per cent colored. Immigration has been generally encouraged by the government; from 1900 to 1906 there were 143,132 immigrants, of whom three-fourths were Spaniards. In spite of the fact that the average population is only sixty-six to the square mile, Cuba is one of the most thickly populated of the Latin-American republics, being exceeded only by Haiti and Salvador.

Constitution and Government. The circumstances under which the Constitution of Cuba was promulgated have already been related. An analysis has also been made of the Platt amendment, defining the relations of Cuba to the United States. The Constitution is a relatively concise document consisting of fourteen titles, divided into 115 articles, the whole followed by an appendix. The framers of the instrument followed rather closely the Constitution of the United States; the chief differences are in the direction of greater centralization, due to the absence of any real local autonomy under the rule of Spain.

Bill of Rights. The customary bill of rights is found in a long title consisting of thirty-seven articles. The rights include the equality of all Cubans before the law, legality of contracts, inviolability of the home, secrecy of correspondence, freedom of the press and religion, peaceful assemblage and petition. No law shall have a retroactive effect, except when penal and favorable to the defendant. No person shall be imprisoned, prosecuted, or sentenced except by a competent judge or court and no one shall be obliged to testify against himself nor against his consort, nor against relatives within the fourth degree of consanguinity or second of affinity. These constitutional guaranties may not be suspended except temporarily in case of invasion or serious disturbance of the peace, and then only by law of Congress; or if that body is not in session, by presidential decree. But the President can not suspend these guaranties more than once without permission of Congress. It is to be noted that under the caption of "individual rights" are certain educational provisions. Primary instruction is free and compulsory; the teaching of arts and trades is also gratuitous. The expenses of

both types of instruction are paid by the central government, in so far as it may be beyond the power of provinces or municipalities to bear them. Secondary and higher education is controlled by the state.

Citizenship and Rights of Suffrage. Cuban citizenship is acquired either by birth or naturalization. Natural born citizens include all persons born of Cuban parents, whether within or without the territory of the republic, and all persons born of foreign parents in Cuba, provided that on becoming of age they apply for inscription as Cubans in the proper register. Certain provisions for acquiring citizenship by naturalization reflect the conditions under which Cuba gained her independence. Foreigners who served in the liberating army, or who were domiciled in Cuba prior to January 1, 1899, had the privilege of claiming Cuban nationality within six months after the promulgation of the Constitution. All Spaniards residing in Cuba when the island gained her independence automatically became Cuban citizens unless they signified their objections within a year.[1] All other foreigners are eligible to Cuban citizenship after five years' residence and not less than two years after the declaration of their intention to acquire Cuban nationality. Finally, all former slaves were regarded as Cuban citizens by naturalization. Citizenship is lost by naturalization in another country and by acceptance of employment or honors from another government without the consent of the Cuban Senate.

The suffrage is enjoyed by all male Cubans over twenty-one years, with the exception of those in active service in the army and navy, inmates of asylums, and those judicially declared to be mentally incapacitated or deprived of civil rights because of crime. Legislation looking to the protection of minorities both in electoral matters and in representation is required by the Constitution.

The Legislative Power. The legislative power is vested in a Congress composed of two elective bodies, the Chamber of Repre-

[1] As a matter of fact the great majority of the Spaniards elected to retain their Spanish nationality. Pepper, *To-Morrow in Cuba*, page 173.

sentatives and the Senate. The Senate contains four members from each of the six provinces, chosen for eight years by a provincial electoral college. This body is made up of the members of the provincial council, plus double the number of electors. To render this body more conservative and stable, it is provided that one-half the electors must be selected from citizens paying the greatest amount of taxes. One-half of the Senate is renewed every four years. The Senate has certain exclusive powers similar to those of the United States Senate. It serves as a court of trial for the impeachment of the President and members of the cabinet on charges preferred by the lower chamber and for the impeachment of the provincial governors on charges brought forward by the provincial councils or the President of the Republic. It confirms the political and diplomatic appointments of the President and approves all treaties. The Chamber of Representatives is composed of members popularly elected on the basis of one representative for each twenty-five thousand inhabitants [1] for a term of four years, renewed by halves every two years.

Congress meets twice annually, in April and November. Its members receive a remuneration set by law, but they may hold no other paid position under the government save a professorship in a state institution obtained by competitive examination prior to the election. The attributions of Congress are extensive. In addition to ordinary legislative powers it passes on the electoral vote for President and Vice-President; lays down the rules to be observed in national, provincial, and municipal elections; exercises control over financial affairs; grants amnesties; declares war; approves treaties negotiated by the President of the republic; regulates the services of railroads, roads, and other means of communication, as well as of harbors; designates the acting chief magistrate in case of the death or incapacity of the President or Vice-President. Either branch of Congress may initiate financial legislation. Congress is distinctly forbidden to attach so-called "riders" to appropriation bills.

[1] At the present time the lower chamber has 114 members.

The Executive Power. The executive power is vested in a President who is elected for four years by an electoral college [1] and cannot hold office for three consecutive terms, nor can he leave the republic without the permission of Congress. The President must be forty years of age and a Cuban by birth or naturalization; in the latter case he must have served in the Cuban armies in the wars of independence for at least ten years. In enumerating the powers of the Executive the Constitution of Cuba shows a number of interesting departures from its United States prototype. The President not only sanctions, promulgates, and executes the laws, but also has the right to supplement them (partly in co-ordination with Congress) by administrative regulations *(reglamentos)* in harmony with their purposes. He submits to Congress through either one of the chambers a draft of the annual budget. He has the power freely to appoint or remove the members of his cabinet. These officials, whose number[2] is determined by law, are personally responsible for the measures signed by them, and jointly and severally for the measures authorized by them at a cabinet meeting. This responsibility does not exclude, however, the personal and direct responsibility of the President.

The Judicial Power. Justice is administered by a supreme court *(Tribunal Supremo de Justicia),* and such other courts as the law may determine. The Supreme Court, whose members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, passes on the constitutionality of all laws, decrees, and regulations. Those eligible to the position of chief or associate justice of the Supreme Court are Cubans over thirty-five years of age who during a period of ten years have either practiced law in Cuba, discharged judicial functions, or taught law in an official establishment.

Provincial Government. One of the greatest grievances harbored by the Cubans against the Spanish *régime* had been excessive centralization. In 1878, as one of the concessions won through

[1] This body was created through special legislation of Congress.
[2] At present the cabinet consists of nine members.

the Ten Years' War, a policy of decentralization was promised by Spain. Six[1] provinces were created with governors and elective assemblies *(disputaciones);* the municipal councils *(ayuntamientos)* were also made elective. But the law of 1878, heralded as an epoch-making step toward local autonomy, introduced little real change into the existing system. The provincial governors, virtually the appointees of the governor-general, had a right to veto all acts of the provincial assemblages. The municipalities were placed at the mercy of the central government, since all acts of the *ayuntamiento* could be vetoed by the provincial governor or the governor-general; the latter also had the right of selecting the mayor *(alcalde).* Centralization, under a thin disguise, remained in force to the very end of the Spanish administration.

With the United States occupation there developed an agitation for genuine autonomy. The American officials resisted this pressure, though at the cost of much popularity. They realized that it would be unwise immediately to bestow upon the provinces and municipalities too many of the powers hitherto administered by the central government. Especially were they loth to grant unrestricted control over local finance, taxation, and sanitation. But the real contest arose in the Constituent Convention in 1901. The more radical elements wished to break completely with Spanish tradition. The Constitution, in their opinion, should specifically safeguard the autonomy of the provinces and municipalities by offering the fullest guaranties of freedom from executive interference. The Conservatives, on the other hand, realized the dangers of a too abrupt break with Spanish traditions. The result was a compromise. The Constitution as finally drafted granted both the provinces and municipalities a degree of autonomy unapproached under the Spanish *régime.* Each province has a provincial governor and an assembly *(concejo provincial),* chosen directly by the people. Each municipality elects its own town council *(ayuntamiento)* and mayor *(alcalde).* Within their respective spheres both the assemblies and the town

[1] Havana, Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, Santa Clara, Camaguëy, Oriente.

councils wield considerable power; they are empowered to frame their own budget and levy their own taxes, provided such taxes do not conflict with those of the central government. But both the provinces and the municipalities are specifically forbidden by the Constitution to contract debts, without a coincident provision of permanent revenue to meet the interest charges and the principal when due. The most effective checks, however, on these bodies are the provisions by which the President of the Republic may suspend the execution of provincial laws, and the President and the provincial governor exercise a similar function in the case of municipal ordinances and resolutions when these laws or ordinances violate the Constitution, treaties, or laws of the republic, or, in the case of the municipalities, are contrary to the policy of the provincial assembly. To the courts are granted the power to determine in the final instance whether the grounds for such suspension or interference are valid.

From the foregoing account it should be clear that the provinces and municipalities are far from possessing the attributions of the state and city governments in the United States. The relations between the central government and the provincial and municipal councils continue to be one of the thorny problems of Cuban politics. During the two decades of Cuban independence the national executive has repeatedly interfered in provincial and municipal affairs, despite the vigorous protest of the local authorities at what they regarded as usurpation of local powers. It was hardly to be expected, however, that after four centuries of administrative supervision all central control could be safely abandoned.

Unsolved Political Problems. Political life in Cuba has in the main been severely judged by foreign observers. It is alleged with some justification, that the two great political parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, represent neither ideals nor principles but simply two groups of politicians contending for the control of the government. There is some ground for the complaint that the national administration is inefficient, extravagant, and overloaded with unnecessary employees. Similar charges, however, may be brought against other Latin-American govern-

ments. The most serious and ominous feature of Cuban political life is the unwillingness of the various parties and factions loyally to make use of the electoral machinery for the settlement of their political contests. The virtual nullification of election laws through chicanery and corruption, the abstention of an entire party from the polls when an adverse vote is anticipated, the willingness of the defeated faction or party to resort to armed rebellion, are among the practices which clearly reveal that many Cubans have failed to live up to their responsibilities of citizenship. Such procedure is the more reprehensible since it inevitably tends to place Cuban independence in jeopardy. The government at Washington has intimated in no uncertain terms that it will not indefinitely tolerate recurrent political disorders in the insular republic, although in all candor it must be admitted that, in the matter of intervention as authorized by the Platt amendment, the United States has shown more reluctance in exercising this power than the Cubans in requesting its employment. Cuba's most immediate and pressing task is to develop a citizenship so well trained in its duties and so conscious of its responsibilities as to remove all pretext for further interference in her internal affairs.

Finance and Functions of the Government. The currency of Cuba is based on the gold peso, equal in weight and fineness to the United States gold dollar. United States money is legal tender, however, and circulates freely. Cuba is thus one of the few Latin-American countries that have completely accepted the gold standard. The total debt of Cuba, both foreign and domestic, amounted at the end of 1920 to $88,366,110. Public education, as already noted, is a matter of national concern. Although great progress has been made since independence, the census of 1919 would indicate that less than half the children of school age were in attendance. The government is endeavoring to remedy this situation by the erection of new schools—223 were established in 1919—and by increasing the capacity of the normal schools. It is worthy of note that in 1921, out of a total expenditure by the national government of some $72,000,000, over

$11,000,000 was devoted to public instruction. Cuba's peculiar relation to the United States has simplified the problem of national defense. Under normal conditions the army is small, composed of about 17,000 officers and men, and save for a brief period during the World War when conscription was enforced, is made up of volunteers. The navy is almost negligible, consisting of three cruisers and a few minor craft.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN CUBA

Despite her limited area and small population, Cuba ranks second among the Latin-American countries in the value of her foreign commerce, being exceeded only by Argentina. In 1920 this commerce totaled $1,290,396,068, the exports amounting to $855,138,341 and the imports to $435,257,727.

Chief Articles of Export in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Sugar	$779,049,953
Tobacco	54,326,149
Mineral products	7,001,876
Fruits	1,946,889
Chief Countries of Destination of Exports in 1920:	**Value in U. S. Gold.**
United States	$642,148,034
Great Britain	127,020,261
France	26,584,342
Canada	15,296,890
Spain	11,570,612
Chief Articles of Import in 1920:	**Value in U. S. Gold.**
Machinery, including apparatus	$ 58,086,975
Cotton textiles	45,936,912
Meats	38,529,494
Iron and steel products (except machinery)	21,358,758
Vegetables	20,299,626
Chief Countries of Origin of Imports in 1920:	**Value in U. S. Gold.**
United States	$321,627,449
Spain	20,145,163
Great Britain	15,060,680
France	13,024,847
British India	11,321,064

Transportation. Cuba has an excellent railway system extending throughout the length of the island. In 1919 there were 3,200 miles in operation. The chief lines, in which both the United States and British capital are heavily interested, are the United Railways of Havana, 705 miles, and the Cuba Railroad,

589 miles. In 1920 there were 749 post and telegraph offices and nine wireless stations, all operated by the government.

II. The Dominican Republic

Summary of the Early History of Santo Domingo. The island of Santo Domingo, next to Cuba the largest of the West Indies, was discovered in 1492 by Columbus, who called it Española. As in the other Antilles, Spanish occupation resulted in the practical extermination of the native population, its place being taken by Negro slaves. With the waning of Spanish power in the seventeenth century, the French contrived to gain a foothold in the western extremity of the island; efforts made by Spain to dislodge them proved futile, and by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697 the western section was formally ceded to France. Through the efforts of the French planters, the colony of Saint-Domingue, as it was called, became one of the most fertile and productive regions in the New World, and the most precious overseas possession of France. In 1795, by the Treaty of Basel, France also secured possession of the eastern or Spanish end of the island. On the outbreak of the French Revolution the population of Saint-Domingue was estimated at forty thousand whites, twenty-eight thousand freedmen, and nearly a half million slaves.

The Independence of Santo Domingo. When the principles of the French Revolution were known in Saint-Domingue, the *affranchis* or freedmen induced the National Assembly in 1791 to accord them full civil and political rights. This decree was violently opposed by the whites, the result being a frightful civil war, during which the prosperity of the island largely disappeared and the white population in the French section was either killed off or forced to emigrate. The one commanding figure in this period of bloodshed and carnage was the great Negro leader Toussaint l'Ouverture. By 1801 he had gained complete possession of the island, including the Spanish portion. His triumph was short-lived. The peace with England secured through the Treaty of Amiens gave Napoleon a breathing spell and he sent his brother-in-law, Le Clerc, with a well-equipped

army to put down the uprising. Toussaint himself bowed to the storm and withdrew to his plantations; but the French, fearing his influence, treacherously seized him and sent him to France. The Negroes retaliated by rising again against the French, this time under their leader Dessalines. With yellow fever as an ally, the blacks virtually destroyed Le Clerc's forces. The renewal of the war with England in 1803, coupled with the loss of his army, caused Napoleon to abandon his attempt to make Santo Domingo a stepping-stone to a great colonial empire west of the Mississippi. It can hardly be doubted that the French failure in Santo Domingo was a factor in Napoleon's sudden decision to offer to sell Louisiana to the United States in 1803. In the following year the inhabitants of Santo Domingo declared themselves forever independent of France; even the name was abandoned, the original Indian name of Haiti being given to the new republic.

Turbulent History of the Dominican Republic. During the earlier decades of the nineteenth century much of the internal history of Santo Domingo is concerned with the attempt on the part of the Haitians to dominate the eastern, Spanish-speaking portion of the island. Here a rebellion broke out in 1808; though the Dominicans, as we may henceforth call them, successfully defended themselves against the Haitians, they came again under the control of Spain in 1814. In 1821, inspired by the example of their South-American brethren, they threw off the yoke of Spain and expressed a desire to be incorporated in the Republic of Colombia. But Bolívar, whose hands were full at the time, could render them no assistance. The Haitians now invaded the eastern portion of the island, and for the next twenty-one years were successful in asserting their authority. Finally, in 1844, as a result of a successful rebellion, the Dominicans definitely won their independence from Haiti. From now on the island was divided into two states: the French-speaking Republic of Haiti and the Spanish-American Dominican Republic. Leaving for later treatment the history of Haiti, we shall briefly consider the political development of the larger of the two states, the Dominican Republic.

The persistence of internal disorders and the constant menace of Haitian reconquest convinced many Dominicans that only through foreign assistance could their country maintain even a partial autonomy. In 1861 the Dominican Republic became a protectorate of Spain, the former President, Santana, being appointed governor and captain-general. But the arrangement was distasteful to the majority of the Dominicans. They objected to Spanish control and at the same time realized that the United States was almost certain to resent the implied violation of the Monroe Doctrine, once the conclusion of the Civil War left her free to act. In 1865 the so-called "War of the Restoration" broke out. The Spanish forces in the island were defeated and Spain definitely abandoned this unlucky colonial venture. As internal conditions grew worse rather than better, an appeal was made to another quarter. In 1868 President Báez negotiated with the government at Washington a treaty providing for annexation of the Dominican Republic to the United States. President Grant ardently championed the project. He appointed a commission of distinguished men, including President Andrew D. White of Cornell, to make a detailed investigation. The commission, whose report even to-day is a valuable source of information, unanimously recommended annexation. The Dominicans themselves approved the pending treaty by a plebiscite. But despite executive pressure, the United States Senate refused to ratify the treaty and the whole subject was dropped.

Financial Difficulties. Though the Dominican Republic was able to maintain her independence, turbulence and disorder tended to increase. From 1844 to 1904 no less than twenty Presidents had governed the unhappy country, in spite of the fact that one, a Negro named Ulises Heureux, remained dictator for seventeen years, and Báez held office five different times. These rulers, especially Heureux, had contracted foreign loans which were wasted for the most part in useless government expenditures. When President Morales was inaugurated in 1904 the country was hopelessly bankrupt. The claims against the government were estimated at anywhere from thirty to forty million dollars, while

the annual revenue was estimated at less than two million. Over half of these claims were held by subjects of European nations, especially France, Italy, and Germany. In 1904 there were well-grounded rumors that several of the European countries would forcibly seize the Dominican custom houses to collect the debts due their citizens. The Dominican Republic was thus menaced with an intervention which might lead to indefinite occupation.

The Convention and Modus Vivendi of 1905. To such a threat the United States could not well remain indifferent. President Morales also was alive to the perils of the situation and in February, 1905, a protocol was signed which provided that the United States should administer the collection of customs—the chief source of public revenue—turning over to the Dominican government forty-five per cent of the amount collected for its expenses, and using the remainder for the service and liquidation of the foreign debt. The United States further agreed to furnish such assistance as was necessary to restore the credit, preserve the order, and advance the material progress and welfare of the Dominican Republic. This latter provision was probably the reason for the refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the convention, in spite of the earnest entreaties of President Roosevelt. Whereupon the President put into force an executive agreement, not requiring the consent of the Senate, which embodied the most important provisions of the convention, notably the administration of the customs by an American official. The immediate results of this *modus vivendi* were remarkable. It was discovered that the Dominican government received more from the forty-five per cent of the custom receipts than when it had collected the entire amount. Revolutionary disturbances largely ceased; the soldiers were regularly paid; business revived, in spite of the handicap of depreciated currency.

The Treaty of 1907. The beneficial results of this temporary arrangement were so obvious that when a new convention was negotiated in 1907 it proved acceptable to the United States Senate. By the terms of the Treaty of 1907 the United States is authorized for fifty years to collect the customs of the insular

republic; as in the provisional arrangements, slightly over half the receipts are to be applied to the gradual extinguishment of the foreign debt. The amount of the original claims, totaling, according to an American expert, Professor Hollander, over $40,000,000, were scaled down to $17,000,000 based on cash payment. To cover this amount a loan of $20,000,000 was floated in New York.

Internal Difficulties. Armed Intervention by the United States. From the financial standpoint the American receivership of Dominican customs proved a success. From 1906 to 1920 the annual custom receipts rose from two and one-half million to over six million dollars, while exports and imports revealed an even more striking increase. But, unfortunately, the internal situation failed to show the improvement which the sponsors of the new financial *régime* had confidently expected. Ramón Cáceres, the first President to be inaugurated under a new Constitution adopted in 1908, was assassinated in 1911. A period of revolutional activity followed. During the next five years four different Presidents endeavored to rule the distracted country. Finally, in the spring of 1916, following the resignation of President Jiménez, the Dominican Congress designated as provisional President Dr. Francisco Henríquez y Carvajal to serve for a period of six months.

On the ground that Article III of the Treaty of 1907, which provided that the public debt shall not be increased except with the consent of the United States, had been repeatedly violated, the government at Washington refused to recognize the new President unless he would sign a new treaty similar in scope to the one in effect between the United States and Haiti. The proposed treaty provided for the collection of customs under United States auspices, the appointment of a United States financial adviser, and the establishment of a constabulary force under United States officers. When President Henríquez declined to sign this convention, which in his judgment was a violation of Dominican sovereignty, the United States authorities refused to pay over any revenues to the Dominican government. The dead-

lock was finally broken on November 29, 1916, when Captain Knapp issued a proclamation declaring the Dominican Republic "in a state of military occupation" by forces of the United States. The proclamation asserted that it was not the purpose of the United States to destroy the sovereignty of the republic, but merely to aid the country in restoring order and to carry out the terms of the treaty of 1907. If Captain Knapp hoped that the Dominicans would acquiesce in the new order and co-operate with the United States naval authorities, he was speedily undeceived. All of the higher Dominican officials abandoned their posts as a protest, and their places were taken by naval officers. The Dominican Republic passed under the complete control of the United States.

Restoration of Dominican Control. Under the military government of the United States, the internal conditions of the republic were greatly improved. Sanitary measures were enforced. Over four hundred miles of road were built. The city of Santo Domingo was equipped with important public works. For the promotion of these and other public enterprises, additional loans were authorized in 1918 and 1922. The number of children in the schools rose from 18,000 to 100,000. So successful was the administration of the customs that it was estimated that the $20,000,000 loan would be paid off before 1925. But these benefits were but a poor substitute for the loss of independence in the eyes of many patriotic Dominicans. They had other grounds for complaint. The American provost courts were frequently arbitrary; the marines were at times guilty of excesses; the press was subject during the greater part of the period to a humiliating censorship. President Henríquez endeavored, not without a measure of success, to enlist the sympathies of the rest of Latin America in the cause of the Dominican republic. He even sent commissioners to Europe in 1919, to appeal to the good offices of the League of Nations for the restoration of individual liberty. In December, 1920, Admiral Snowden, at the time military governor of the Dominican republic, informed the Dominicans that the United States was prepared to end the

military occupation, but the conditions attached proved unacceptable. Meanwhile the question of the occupation of both the Dominican republic and Haiti had come before the United States Congress. A senatorial investigation committee held lengthy hearings, both in the insular republic and at Washington. But before its report was issued a series of conferences was held in 1922 between Secretary Hughes and representatives of the political factions in the Dominican Republic, looking to the definite withdrawal of the United States occupation. The program as finally drawn up provided for the creation by the Dominicans of a provisional government, whose plenipotentiaries should forthwith negotiate a convention with the United States. By the terms of this convention the acts promulgated by the military government should be recognized; the Convention of 1907 should remain in force as long as any of the bonds authorized in 1918 and 1922 shall remain unpaid; the duties of the receiver of customs should be expanded to include the collection of the revenues necessary for the services of these additional debts. Upon the approval of this convention by the Dominican Congress and duly elected President, the United States will withdraw immediately all military forces from the Dominican republic.

General Features. The Dominican Republic has an area of 19,325 square miles, and is almost twice as large as its western neighbor Haiti. Its area is approximately that of New Hampshire and Vermont. From the point of view of climate and products, the republic may be divided into three regions. The tropical belt, embracing the fertile fields of the lowlands, is admirably adapted to the cultivation of cacao, sugar cane, bananas, and tobacco. Somewhat higher are the plains of the stock-raising belt, with an abundance of excellent pasture. The third or subtropical region, occupying the slopes and valleys of the mountainous section of the interior and consisting perhaps of one-tenth of the area of the republic, is suited to the growing of coffee, as well as wheat and other products of the temperate zone. The mineral wealth known to exist in the mountainous regions has hitherto been but little exploited.

The population of the Dominican Republic is liberally estimated at three-quarters of a million, barely a third of that of Haiti. While its basis is the Creoles of Spanish descent, there is a considerable admixture of Negro blood. The official language, which is spoken by a vast majority of the inhabitants, is Spanish. Along the frontier the Haitian patois is heard, while in the Samana Peninsula a corrupt English is spoken by a group of descendants of Negro immigrants from the United States.

Constitution and Government. The Dominican Republic is nominally governed by a Constitution promulgated in 1908, which embodies most of the features of the Constitution of 1896. All male citizens over eighteen years of age are eligible to vote. The executive authority is vested in a President elected by indirect vote for a term of six years. He is assisted by a cabinet of seven secretaries. There is no Vice-President; in the event of the death or disability of the chief magistrate, Congress has the authority to select his successor. The national Congress consists of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the former composed of twelve members, one from each province, and the latter of twenty-four members, or two from each province. The members of both houses are elected by indirect vote. The Senators serve six years; the Deputies four. The twelve provinces are administered by governors appointed by the President. The chief judicial power resides in the Supreme Court, sitting in San Domingo City.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Commerce. The total foreign commerce of the Dominican Republic in 1920 amounted to $105,275,117, of which $58,731,241 were represented by exports and $46,525,876 by imports. These figures are the largest in the history of the republic, and are partly to be explained by the high price obtained by Dominican sugar. For purposes of comparison it may be noted that in 1913 the foreign commerce of the republic amounted to only $19,742,225.

Chief Articles of Export in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Sugar, raw and refined	$45,739,938
Cacao	6,168,202
Tobacco	4,256,017
Coffee	265,973

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States	$51,113,990
France	3,050,797
Canada	1,994,868
Great Britain	807,523
Porto Rico	564,331

Chief Articles of Import in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Cotton manufacturing	$12,713,362
Food stuffs	10,354,952
Iron and steel manufactures	3,348,373
Machinery and apparatus	2,525,892

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States	$35,848,791
Porto Rico	6,081,177
Great Britain	1,536,556
France	657,617

Transportation. The transportation facilities of the republic are quite inadequate, despite the progress made under American occupation. There are two short railway lines with a total length of 153 miles: the government-owned Dominican Central, connecting Puerto Plata and Santiago de los Cabelleros, and the British-owned Samana and Santiago Railway, connecting Sánchez and La Vega. There are also some 250 miles of private lines on large estates. No rail connection exists between the towns of the northern and southern part of the republic. As a result of American occupation, progress has been made on a system of highways designed to connect the principal cities of the country. The postal and telegraph services are unified. In 1920 there were fifty-seven joint postal and telegraph offices and thirty-two post offices.

Products and Industries. Agriculture forms the chief source of national wealth. The leading industry of the country is the cultivation of sugar cane and the production of raw sugar. The next most important crop is cacao; coffee and tobacco are also cultivated. With the cessation of civil wars there is a renewed interest in cattle raising.

III. The Republic of Haiti

Haiti's Turbulent History. No survey of the history of Haiti can be just to her inhabitants which does not recognize certain obstacles to progress, which were largely or wholly absent in the case of the other Latin-American republics. When Haiti gained her independence the country was in ruins. The flourishing plantations which had been the pride of the French colony had been swept by fire and sword. The magnificent system of highways had largely disintegrated. The population was composed almost entirely of ex-slaves, few of whom were literate and none trained in public affairs; in fact many were removed less than one generation from the African jungles. A long period of misgovernment and revolutions was inevitable. The extent and virulence of these disorders have, however, been exaggerated. While it is true that the majority of the Presidents of the unhappy republic have been deposed by revolution, these civil disturbances have, with a few exceptions, been the occasion of little bloodshed. The procedure in many of these uprisings has been similar. The aspirant for the presidency recruits a following among the uncivilized *"cacos"* of the mountainous regions in the north and east, and styling himself "Chief of the Executive Power" gains possession of the town of St. Marc, some fifty miles from the capital, Port au Prince, whereupon the President immediately resigns and leaves the country. Frequently the change in the executive causes little more than a ripple in the placid current of Haitian life. In the one hundred and fifteen years of Haitian independence only two Presidents have been assassinated. Cristophe ruled as President and King for fourteen years; Pétion for twelve years, Boyer for twenty-five years, Soulouque for eleven years, and four others for periods exceeding six years. There were comparatively long stretches, therefore, when the country enjoyed internal peace. It is also to be noted to the credit of Haiti that foreigners have never suffered violence or molestation, and that Haiti up until 1914 had scrupulously met her foreign obligations.

As we approach the turning of the century, conditions began

to grow steadily worse. Revolutions became almost continuous; the last eight Presidents previous to the United States intervention held office on the average less than a year. Both the internal and external debts increased, and a financial crisis was imminent. On the outbreak of the European War, the Haitian treasury suspended payment on all governmental obligations. The situation, fraught with possibilities of European intervention, was perilous for Haiti and disquieting to the United States. In December, 1914, the United States Minister presented to the Haitian government the draft of a convention similar in scope to the treaty of 1907 with Santo Domingo. The proposal was declined, and the United States did not at once insist. But early in 1915 political conditions became such as to render some action by the United States imperative. During a revolution directed against President Théodore, a veritable reign of terror broke out in Port au Prince. Théodore abandoned the country, and his successor, Guillaume Villbrün Sam, maintained himself with difficulty against his political opponents. As a means of protection he threw into prison 160 influential citizens, including an ex-President, who were held practically as hostages. When the presidential palace became untenable Sam sought asylum in the French legation; in pursuance of his standing order, his 160 prisoners were murdered in cold blood. This act so enraged the populace that they dragged the President from the French legation and after shooting him, trailed his mutilated body about the city.

United States Intervention. In this emergency the United States was prompt to act. Following the murder of President Sam, Rear Admiral Caperton, under orders of the Navy Department, on July 28th landed marines to protect the legations and prevent disorders. In a proclamation issued to the Haitian people on August 10th Admiral Caperton stated that the United States had "no object in view except to insure, establish, and help maintain Haitian independence and the establishment of a firm and stable government by the Haitian people." On August 12th the Haitian Congress, closely guarded by American marines to

prevent disorder, chose as President M. Soudré Dartiguenave. The choice was a fortunate one. Although the new Executive had been long in public life, he had kept clear of political quarrels and was identified with no faction. He was, moreover, anxious to come to a satisfactory understanding with the United States. The United States representative now submitted the draft of a treaty providing for a virtual protectorate over the Republic of Haiti. The treaty was signed September 16th. When certain members of the Haitian Congress demurred at sanctioning what they regarded as the surrender of national sovereignty, pressure was applied. On instructions from Washington, Admiral Caperton informed M. Dartiguenave that the United States would remain in control until the treaty was accepted. Martial law had already been proclaimed, and United States forces had taken possession of the customs. It was understood that custom receipts would be available for salaries only after ratification. The convention was sanctioned by the Haitian Senate on November 11, 1915.

The Convention of 1915. The terms of the convention resemble those of the Santo Domingo treaty of 1907, save that they go much further in the direction of a protectorate. The chief provisions are: the establishment of a Haitian receivership of customs under United States control; the appointment of a United States financial adviser; the organization of a native Haitian constabulary under United States officers; the disarming of all revolutionary forces; and the promise on the part of Haiti to cede no territory to any foreign government or power. The convention is to last ten years and an equal additional period if its objects are not accomplished within that time.

The Results of United States Intervention. Measured in terms of material advance, the United States occupation has much to its credit. Save for a rebellion of the *cacos,* the republic has enjoyed uninterrupted peace. Sanitary conditions in the cities have vastly improved. Exports and imports have increased. Trails are giving place to a fine system of roads. The peasants, who formed the overwhelming bulk of the population, for the

first time in decades are entirely free from molestation by brigands or official authority. None the less, the occupation has been subject to bitter criticism both in Haiti and the United States. It is charged that the United States has repeatedly usurped the powers of civil government which the treaty of 1915 guarantees to the Haitians. The marines, it is alleged, have abused their authority and have been guilty of great cruelties, including the indiscriminate killing of the natives. The promised financial aid has not been forthcoming. Little or nothing has been done to raise the normal or cultural level of the Haitian people, particularly in the domain of education.

These and other charges have been the object of a detailed examination by a Senate investigating committee. The evidence showed that at times the marines were guilty of abuses which, however, were promptly punished. Great resentment was aroused by the revival for a brief period of the *corvée* system of forced labor on the roads. The government at Washington has frequently employed for service in Haiti men, in some cases Southerners, who were not sympathetic to the Haitians. Lack of co-operation and conflicts of authority have made efficient government difficult. At the present time there are really three governments in Haiti exercising concurrent authority: the Haitian government, the American treaty officials, and the military occupation. Worst of all, there has been an entire absence of any definite or constructive policy in the interpretation of the Treaty of 1915.

General Features. The Republic of Haiti has an area of some 10,000 square miles, slightly exceeding in size the state of Vermont. Though much of the country is mountainous, there are a number of plains and wide valleys of immense fertility. During the French occupation, the chief crop was sugar, which attained an annual production of over 160 million pounds. At present coffee, picked from bushes or trees growing in a semiwild state, ranks first in the exports of the country. Prior to the Great War practically all of this coffee went to Europe, and even now a large portion of the crop is sent to France. Other products,

though lagging far behind coffee in importance, are cotton, dyewood, sugar, and cacao. In spite of the immense fertility of the country, food stuffs form one of the chief items of imports.

Although no official census has ever been taken, conservative estimates place the population at over two million. Haiti is thus the most densely populated of the Latin-American republics. The Haitians are almost all pure blooded Negroes, the mulattoes forming barely ten per cent of the population. French is the official language, and the small highly educated upper class, in whose hands prior to the American occupation rested the administration of the country, has adopted the customs and traditions of France. The bulk of the people, completely illiterate, speak a patois of French origin known as Creole.

The Constitution of 1918. Nominally the Republic of Haiti is governed according to a Constitution adopted by a plebiscite on June 12, 1918. The circumstances leading up to the adoption of the Constitution are not without interest. As a result of the new conditions created by the intervention of the United States, the American authorities believed—a view shared by President Dartiguenave—that the existing Constitution (that of 1889) should be subject to a thorough revision. Legally such revision should have been intrusted to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting as a National Assembly. When it became evident that the Assembly which met in April, 1916, could not be controlled by the President and was unwilling to draft a Constitution agreeable to the United States authorities, M. Dartiguenave on April 5, 1916, dissolved the Senate, transformed the Chamber of Deputies into a Constituent Assembly and created a body known as a Council of State. The members of both chambers refused to recognize the right of the President to dissolve the Senate, but when they endeavored to meet they found the entrance to the legislative building closed and guarded by gendarmes. Attempts by the Haitian legislators to meet elsewhere were prevented by the American authorities, under orders of Admiral Caperton.

To break the deadlock President Dartiguenave issued a decree on September 22, 1916, calling for a new election of the chambers to revise the Constitution. Before the National Assembly met, the Council of State drew up the draft of the proposed instrument. The Haitian Secretary of State was meanwhile informed by the American Minister that the State Department at Washington was desirous that certain changes be embodied in this draft before it was submitted to the National Assembly. The most important of these changes were the permission to foreigners to hold land, the extension to foreigners of all rights enjoyed by the Haitians, and the ratification of all the acts of the United States military occupation. When the National Assembly, which met in April, 1917, as a constituent convention, showed itself hostile to the proposed Constitution, especially the provisions insisted upon by the United States, President Dartiguenave decreed its dissolution. General Cole, in command of the forces of occupation informed General Butler, "that in case the President did not sign the decree of dissolution he was to be informed, as coming from me, that I would suppress the National Assembly myself and would recommend the establishment of a military government."[1] General Butler personally carried the decree to the assembly and directed that the chambers be cleared.

Over a year after the second dissolution of the Haitian assembly the Constitution, embodying all the suggestions desired by the United States, was submitted to the Haitians by means of a plebiscite and was adopted by an overwhelming vote. It was formally promulgated by the President on June 19, 1918.

The Constitution of 1918—only certain provisions of which have thus far been put into effect—is based on the Constitution of 1889, the chief modifications being due to the circumstances growing out of the military occupation of the United States. In the title dealing with the Haitians and their rights the original article six, which prohibited foreigners from holding land in Haiti, is displaced by article five, which grants property rights to foreigners resident in Haiti and to companies composed of

[1] *Hearings,* before the Senate Committee, page 702.

foreigners. This right lapses, however, at the end of five years after the foreigner has ceased to reside in the country or the companies have ceased their operations. The Constitution contains the customary division of power between the executive, legislature, and judiciary. The legislature is composed of two chambers—a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, the two forming the National Assembly. The Chamber of Deputies consists provisionally of at least thirty-six members elected by the local assemblies of the *arrondissements* for a term of two years; the Senate consists of fifteen members elected for a term of six years by the local assemblies of the departments. The two bodies meet as a National Assembly to elect the President, to declare war, and to pass upon treaties. The President, who is assisted by five Secretaries of State, holds office for four years, and may be elected for a second term, but not for a third until an interval of four years has elasped. In the event of his death or incapacity, his functions are taken over by his Secretaries of State, pending the election of his successor by the National Assembly. The judiciary consists of a Court of Cassation and minor courts, whose members are appointed by the President. An attempt is made to provide for local autonomy—something in practice at least hitherto quite nonexistent—by providing for communal councils with a limited control over matters of local interest. The departments and *arrondissements* are merely local administrative divisions, governed by military appointees of the President.

A special article provides that all the acts of the United States government performed during the military occupation of Haiti are ratified; that no Haitians may be prosecuted for acts committed under the orders of the forces of occupation; that the acts of the court martials are not subject to revision; that the acts of the Executive performed up to the date of the promulgation of the Constitution also should be ratified.

Political and Financial Problems. The Future of Haiti. As already suggested, the new Constitution of Haiti has thus far been largely a dead letter. The legislative power, instead of

being exercised by a Chamber of Deputies and Senate, has been vested (according to a transitory disposition of the Constitution) in a Council of State, composed of twenty-one members appointed by the President. The Republic of Haiti, therefore, is governed by an executive assisted by an appointive council, both holding power largely at the pleasure of the forces of United States military occupation.

Recent developments in the reorganization of Haitian finances have tended to rivet the control of the United States and of American financial interests even more firmly upon Haiti. When the American occupation began, the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti had a virtual monopoly of the banking operations of the government and had the sole right of issuing notes. In 1916 the National City Bank of New York purchased control over this bank. In 1922, through the medium of the National City Bank, the Republic of Haiti floated a loan of sixteen million dollars, out of a total authorized loan of forty million dollars for the refunding of two Haitian loans outstanding in France, and to provide funds to pay internal floating debt, and for other governmental expenses. It is expected that this loan will eventually constitute practically the entire outstanding debt of Haiti. The interest on these bonds—on the retirement of existing loans —will constitute a first charge upon the internal revenues and custom duties of the republic, even after the expiration in 1936 of the treaty of 1916. As the bonds do not fall due until 1952, Haiti seems destined to be under the financial tutelage of the United States for at least the next thirty years.

Thus the United States faces certain responsibilities as regards Haiti, which happily are absent in the case of the Dominican Republic. Beneficial as the occupation may have been in some regards, much remains to be accomplished if the American people are conscientiously to perform their duty toward their unwilling ward. A definite policy, carried out in a firm but conciliatory fashion, is all essential. The existing conflict of authority must cease. As suggested by Senator McCormick in the Senate report, the necessary centralization of authority might be secured by the

appointment of a high commission with the diplomatic powers of an envoy. Such a commissioner could furnish direction and guidance both to the officers of the marine and the American officials serving under the treaty. Political opposition should be allayed through a more scrupulous observance of the Haitian Constitution and the rights of the Haitian authorities, by the abolition of the provost courts and martial law, and by the decrease and eventual withdrawal of the marine force, leaving the maintenance of order to the native constabulary gendarmerie. Every effort should be made to meet the crying need of popular education, particularly in practical agriculture. But progress in this, as in other fields, is largely dependent upon effective and willing co-operation between Haiti and the United States. Without such co-operation the termination of American control and the re-establishment of Haitian sovereignty will be indefinitely postponed.

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN HAITI

Commerce. The total foreign commerce of Haiti in 1920 amounted to $46,388,443, of which $18,990,032 were represented by exports, and $27,398,411 by imports. For purposes of comparison it may be noted that in 1913 the foreign commerce of the republic amounted to only $19,415,684.

Chief Articles of Export in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
Coffee	$11,007,296
Cotton	2,294,864
Dyewoods	2,884,976
Sugar, raw	897,197

Chief Countries of Destination of Exports in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States	$ 9,903,881
France	6,531,252
Great Britain	318,120

Chief Articles of Import in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold
Cotton cloth	$ 8,705,916
Food stuffs	8,517,240
Iron and steel manufactures	957,505

Chief Countries of Origin of Imports in 1920:	Value in U. S. Gold.
United States	$22,773,762
Great Britain	2,286,614
France	1,451,700

Transportation. Save for two light railways extending a short distance out of Port au Prince, Haiti has no railroad system, although a line is now in construction between Cape Haiti and the capital. Some 200 miles of good highways have been constructed as a result of American occupation. In 1920 there were thirty-one post offices, and 124 miles of government telegraph lines.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA

Scope and Purpose of This Chapter. Although frequent allusion throughout the preceding chapters has been made to the international relations of the various Latin-American states, the importance of the subject justifies a more detailed and comprehensive treatment. The present chapter will deal therefore with certain of the more significant phases of inter-American relationships, such as the recognition of the Latin-American states by the United States, the promulgation and development of the Monroe Doctrine, the inception and growth of the sentiment of Pan-American solidarity, the influence of the World War on Latin America, and the most important present-day problems. Some attention will also be accorded the relations of the states of Latin America with Europe and with each other.

The Recognition of the Latin-American States. From the first the struggle of the Spanish colonist for independence was followed with eager and sympathetic interest in the United States. As early as 1811 both houses of Congress resolved "that they beheld with friendly interest the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish provinces of America." Although the government maintained a policy of neutrality, the revolutionists were almost from the beginning granted belligerent rights and their ships were freely admitted to United States ports. Agents seeking recognition of independence early appeared at Washington and special commissioners were despatched by the United States to South America to report on the progress of the revolution. The cause of recognition found an ardent advocate in the person of Henry Clay, whose efforts in behalf of the struggling colonies made his name a household word throughout

South America. In 1817 he opposed the enactment of a more stringent neutrality law and in 1818, in possibly the most brilliant and fervid speeches of his long career, urged the immediate recognition of the government of Buenos Aires. Aside from his somewhat romantic devotion to the cause of Spanish-American independence, Clay was influenced by the conviction that the struggling colonies, once free, would become part of an American political system as opposed to that of Europe. But neither Congress nor the President yielded to Clay's persuasive eloquence. The administration rightly felt that recognition would affect adversely the negotiations with Spain looking to the acquisition of Florida. Although a treaty to this effect was signed in 1819 Ferdinand VII astutely delayed ratification for two years. Moreover, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, had little faith in the Spanish Americans. As late as 1821 he declared: "I had seen and have yet seen no prospect that they would establish free or liberal institutions of government." But finally in 1822, with the problem of Florida disposed of, the administration was prepared to yield to the growing pressure for recognition. In a special message of March 8, 1822, President Monroe himself proposed the recognition of Buenos Aires, Colombia, Chile, and Mexico. Congress promptly voted the appropriations necessary for the dispatch of diplomatic missions to these countries. Before the end of the year accredited envoys from Colombia and Mexico were formally received at Washington and from Buenos Aires and Chile early in the year following. The Empire of Brazil was recognized in 1824. A number of the South American nations, such as Peru, Ecuador, and Uruguay, which did not appear on the map in 1822 as separate states, were subsequently recognized. For reasons which will presently be noted, Great Britain did not extend recognition to the new nations until 1824. As regards Spain, the mother land, there long existed a stubborn refusal to acknowledge the independence of her former colonies. Up to his death in 1833, Ferdinand VII fatuously believed that he might yet recover some fragment of his former domain. Partly as a result of the efforts of both

Great Britain and the United States to restore amicable relations between Spain and the Spanish-American republics, Mexico was recognized by Isabella II in 1836. The recognition of the remaining republics gradually followed. Yet as late as 1864 Spain had refused formally to acknowledge the independence of Peru and pretended to regard her relation with that country as partaking of the character of a truce.

The Monroe Doctrine : Circumstances of Its Origin. One of the reasons for the recognition of the Spanish-American republics by the United States in 1822 was to anticipate the possible intervention of the reactionary powers of Europe in Spanish America. In 1815 the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed a personal league, commonly known as the Holy Alliance, whose chief purpose eventually came to be the safeguarding of the principle of legitimacy against the encroachment of liberal ideas. Various congresses were held for the purpose of putting the purposes of the league into effect. France joined the league, but Great Britain held aloof. At the Congress of Verona, held in 1822, measures were taken for the suppression of representative government and for the restoration of absolutism in Spain. Acting on a mandate from the allied powers, France now invaded Spain and the despotic Ferdinand VII was restored to his throne. Encouraged by the success of this expedition, the allied powers began to formulate plans for another congress, with a view to crushing the revolutionary movements in South America. There is reason to believe that France expected to be rewarded for her services by some portion of Spain's American holdings, possibly Cuba.

Such projects were calculated to arouse opposition not only in the United States but also in Great Britain. During the previous decade and a half British commerce with Spanish America had assumed such importance as to lead Napoleon to declare, with obvious exaggeration, that the Spanish-American revolution had saved England from bankruptcy. The restoration of Spanish rule with the revival of the old colonial system would have largely destroyed such trade. In the summer of 1823

George Canning, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, suggested to Richard Rush, the United States Minister to England, the desirability of some form of joint diplomatic action against European intervention in America in favor of Spain. Canning agreed that the recovery of the colonies by Spain was hopeless; the question of their recognition, therefore, was one of the time and circumstance. Great Britain, he added, had herself no designs on any of Spain's territory, but she could not see with indifference the transfer of any portion of it to another power. In view of the menace of European intervention, a declaration to that effect concurrently by the United States and Great Britain "would be the most effective and least offensive mode of making known their joint disapprobation of contrary projects."

Had this proposal for joint action come prior to the recognition of the Spanish-American republics by the United States, the offer might have been accepted. As it was, the proposal met with the approval of Jefferson, Madison, and President Monroe, but was strongly opposed by the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Adams was convinced that Canning was intent on securing from the United States a pledge against the acquisition on her own account of any part of the Spanish-American possessions. He did not wish, moreover, that his country should "come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." Other arguments used by Adams were the disadvantages of an entangling alliance and the fact that Great Britain and the United States did not stand on an equal footing, as one power had recognized the Spanish-American republics and the other had not.

The views of Adams prevailed and the United States government determined to act alone. The necessity of a declaration of policy was strengthened by a menace from another quarter. In 1821 the Czar of Russia issued an ukase, in which he laid claim to the northwest coast of America, as far south as the fifty-first parallel. The claims advanced by the Czar in 1821 conflicted with the pretensions of Great Britain and the United States to what was then known as Oregon territory. Both powers

protested and the Russian government eventually expressed willingness to adjust the matter by friendly negotiation.

Provisions of the Monroe Doctrine. The essence of President Monroe's famous message, delivered on December 2, 1823, may be given in two sentences. The first had to do with colonization, and was called forth by the Russian decree of 1821. It stated that the "American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The second referred to the aims of the Holy Alliance. After pointing out that the "political system of the allied powers is essentially different . . . from that of America," the President stated: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and these powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." To remove all ambiguity regarding the meaning and application of the principle just enunciated, President Monroe added that, while the United States had not and would not interfere with existing colonies, in the case of the governments (i. e., those of Spanish America) whose independence had been acknowledged by the United States "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly attitude toward the United States." The President declared incidentally that it was not the policy of the United States government to take part in matters relating to wars of the European powers.

Reception of the Monroe Doctrine in Europe. Attitude of Canning Toward Spanish America. It was hardly to be expected that the Monroe Doctrine would be favorably received in Europe, at least by the powers composing the Holy Alliance. Chateaubriand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that such a doctrine "ought to be resisted by all the powers possessing either territorial or commercial interests in the hemisphere"; while

Metternich renewed his prophecy of the calamities which the New World would bring upon the Old. Canning, though approving the principle of nonintervention, was quick to see the effect of the declaration against future European colonization which was aimed at England as much as against the continental powers. He was also chagrined at the turn his proposal to the United States for joint action in regard to Spanish America had taken. In December, 1824, he determined forthwith to recognize Mexico and Colombia. This step was taken partly to increase British prestige and influence in Spanish America, partly to compensate England for the protracted French occupation of Spain. In defending his action Canning uttered his celebrated boast:

"I looked another way—I sought for compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain, such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain *with the Indies*. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

In certain respects Canning's boast rings rather hollow. British recognition came only after Spanish power in South America had been effectively crushed, two years after the recognition of the Spanish republics by the United States, and one year after the pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, as early as November, 1823, France had agreed not to assist Spain in attempting the reconquest of her colonies. This meant the abandonment of all hope of the Holy Alliance of suppressing liberalism beyond the seas. Yet it is undeniable that the debt of Latin America to England has been great. Had it not been to the interest and in the power of Great Britain to protect Latin America from European aggression through her command of the seas, the Monroe Doctrine, at least during the better part of the nineteenth century, might have been successfully challenged. There is even some ground for the belief that in the years immediately preceding the Great War Britain might have composed her difficulties with Germany by allowing her to work her will unhampered in South America. That in such an event

Germany would have proceeded to flout the Monroe Doctrine—styled by Bismarck an "international impertinence"—is quite within the bounds of possibility.

Other factors also account for the extent of English influence in Latin America. In the matter of the recognition of the new states by Spain, Great Britain was in a position to accomplish more than the United States. Unlike the North American republic, she had abundant capital available for both public loans and private enterprises. In the field of foreign commerce she enjoyed an enormous advantage in the fact that from the first Great Britain and South America were commercially supplementary to each other, the one supplying manufactured articles, the other producing raw material. This commercial predominance, won early in the nineteenth century, was held by Great Britain up to the period of the Great War. It is no occasion for surprise, therefore, that a number of South America publicists and statesmen have looked upon Great Britain rather than the United States as their bulwark against European aggression. Thus the Argentine scholar and statesman Alberdi, writing in the fifties, gives Canning and Great Britain credit for the ideas behind the Monroe Doctrine. The phrase "European origin of the Monroe Doctrine" is continually recurring in his political treatises. He minimizes the effect of Monroe's message and attributes the collapse of the plans of the Holy Alliance entirely to the diplomatic activity of the British foreign minister.

The Development of the Monroe Doctrine. As originally enunciated, the Doctrine was primarily designed to secure protection for the United States through the preservation of the independence of the newly created Latin-American nations. During the succeeding century it has expanded through additions and interpretations as circumstances demanded. Yet in its two cardinal principles—the definite closing of the Americas to further European colonization and the separation of the American and European spheres of influence—it has undergone surprisingly little modification. Though generally considered as having no sanction in international law, the Doctrine has been

respected by Europe and has come to be regarded as the basis of the foreign policy of the United States.

Only a few illustrations of the enlargement of the Doctrine and only the most striking instances of its enforcement can be cited. The term "future colonization," as used by President Monroe, was doubtless understood to denote the acquisition of title to territory by original occupation and settlement. In the forties it took on a wider meaning, until it included the transfer of American territory from one foreign country to another. As already noted in the section of our text dealing with the Caribbean republics, the United States government on various occasions made it clear that it would not permit the occupation of Cuba by any power other than Spain. This interpretation of the Doctrine, designed apparently to preserve the territorial *status quo* in the New World, was directed against Europe but not, as it presently developed, against the United States. The attitude of President Polk as seen in the annexation of Texas, followed shortly by the acquisition of New Mexico and California, made it abundantly clear to the Latin Americans that the United States did not regard the Doctrine as in any sense a self-denying ordinance.

The Monroe Doctrine and French Intervention in Mexico. The first real attempt on the part of any of the European powers to challenge the Doctrine occurred in Mexico in 1861-1866, when France undertook armed intervention for the purpose of overthrowing the republican government under Juárez, and setting up in its place a foreign imperial government under the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. The details of the French intervention have already been recounted in the chapter devoted to Mexico. While her energies were absorbed in the Civil War, the United States was in no position to offer effective remonstrance to this flagrant violation of the second principle of the Monroe Doctrine. Even after the archduke had formally accepted the Mexican throne, Secretary Seward did not go farther than to declare that the permanent establishment of a foreign and monarchical government in Mexico would be neither easy nor desirable. When, however, the conclusion of the Civil War left the United

States free to act, the tone of the State Department changed. On December 16, 1865, Seward addressed to France what was virtually an ultimatum. After stating the earnest desire of the United States to continue and to cultivate sincere friendship with France, he added "that this policy would be brought into imminent jeopardy, unless France should deem it consistent with her interest and honor to desist from the prosecution of armed intervention in Mexico, to overthrow the domestic republican government existing there, and to establish upon its ruins the foreign monarchy which had been attempted to be inaugurated in the capital of that country." Napolen III, weary of his Mexican venture and anxious to have a free hand to meet the menacing situation in Europe, ordered the recall of his troops. Without French support the empire quickly collapsed and Maximilian paid for his ill-starred venture with his life.

The Monroe Doctrine and the Venezuelan Boundary Controversy. A long-standing dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary line between the latter country and British Guiana was the occasion under President Cleveland of a further extension of the Monroe Doctrine. The controversy was a heritage of a disagreement between Spain and the Netherlands, regarding the limits of Spanish and Dutch settlements in the Guianas. On various occasions during the nineteenth century Great Britain, who had acquired possession of a section of Dutch Guiana, extended her claims to the westward at the expense of Venezuela. Attempts to settle the controversy by arbitration proved fruitless, owing to Great Britain's refusal to submit to arbitration more than a small portion of the region in dispute. Venezuela, despairing of reaching any agreement through direct negotiations, finally appealed to the United States on the ground that the apparent encroachments of Great Britain on her territorial rights fell within the purview of the Monroe Doctrine. President Cleveland espoused the cause of the South-American republic. His attitude was clearly revealed in Secretary Olney's despatch of July 20, 1895, forwarded to the United States Ambassador at London for transmission to the British Foreign

Office. "The single purpose and object" of the Monroe Doctrine, wrote Mr. Olney, was that "no European power or combination of European powers" should "forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies." The Doctrine was clearly involved in the present controversy, since it was a question of territory whose political control might be lost by one party and gained by another. Mr. Olney then made the astonishing statement: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." The despatch also included the inquiry whether Great Britain would submit the whole dispute to arbitration.

Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Minister, not only refused unrestricted arbitration, but also denied Mr. Olney's contention that the Monroe Doctrine was applicable to the present dispute. Whereupon President Cleveland on December 17, 1895, submitted the whole correspondence to Congress in a message in which he was at pains to point out the relevancy of the Monroe Doctrine to the existing controversy.

> If a European power by an extension of its boundaries takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why to that extent such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of the continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be "dangerous to our peace and safety" and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.

The President then recommended the appointment of a commission to make a thorough investigation of the merits of the controversy. "When such report is made and accepted," he declared, "it will in my opinion be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

This declaration created great excitement both in the United States and England, and for a time war spirit ran high. Congress promptly voted funds for the expenses of the commission desired by the President. But before this body had presented its report, Great Britain signified her willingness to submit the whole controversy to arbitration. The arbitration tribunal which met in Paris in 1899 awarded a large part of the disputed area to Great Britain, although it granted Venezuela the mouth of the Orinoco. After all, however, the terms of the award were of secondary importance. The United States had won her chief contention when Great Britain agreed to arbitrate. Moreover, the Monroe Doctrine had secured an international standing it had never previously enjoyed, as it had been recognized, in fact, if not in words, by the most important maritime power of Europe.

The Blockade of Venezuelan Ports. The settlement of the boundary dispute with British Guiana did not bring an end to Venezuela's foreign complications. Numerous civil wars and revolts had led to many demands for indemnities by foreigners who had suffered in their person or property. The interest on foreign obligations had fallen hopelessly in arrears. When the hope of redress through diplomatic channels proved futile Great Britain, Germany, and Italy late in 1901 determined to apply pressure in the shape of a pacific blockade of Venezuelan ports. Prior to taking this step both Germany and Great Britain formally assured the United States government that there was no intention on their part to violate the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. But when the blockade, accompanied by the seizure of a Venezuelan gunboat and other acts of violence, brought Venezulea into open warfare with the allied powers, the United States government felt constrained to interfere. President Roosevelt later justified this intervention on the grounds that "the existence of hostilities in a region so near our own borders was fraught with such possibilities of danger in the future that it was obviously no less our duty to ourselves than our duty to humanity to endeavor to put an end to that."[1]

[1] Address delivered at Chicago, April 2, 1903.

Through the efforts of the United States Minister at Caracas, an agreement was reached whereby the claims of the foreign powers should be submitted to mixed commissions for arbitration. Great Britain and Italy accepted this arrangement, but Germany demurred. According to Mr. Thayer in his biography of Secretary John Hay, President Roosevelt privately informed the German Ambassador at Washington that unless the Kaiser would accept arbitration the American fleet under Admiral Dewey would proceed to Venezuela, presumably to break up the blockade.[1] After some hesitancy the Kaiser yielded; the mixed commissions were established at Caracas, and the question of preferential treatment of the blockading over the other foreign powers having claims against Venezuela was submitted to the Hague. It is an interesting commentary on the character of these claims, and inferentially of many others against Latin-American republics, that while the claimants demanded approximately 163,000,000 bolivars (some $36,200,000) they were awarded less than 30,000,000 bolivars (some $6,000,000).

The Drago and the Calvo Doctrines. In his message of December 3, 1901, delivered at a time when preparations for the Venezuelan blockade were being actively pushed, President Roosevelt in speaking of the duties of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine, said: "We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power." This statement, coupled with the attitude of the Washington administration on the blockade of Venezuela, was the occasion of a protest on the part of the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Luis M. Drago. In a note dated December 29, 1902, Dr. Drago presented to the United States government the view that "the public debt cannot occasion armed intervention nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European power." This "Drago Doctrine" was in effect only a restatement of the views of the Argentine publicist, Carlos Calvo, who in a well-known

[1] W. R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay,* vol. II, pages 286–288.

treatise on international law first published in 1868 declared that "the collection of pecuniary claims made by the citizens of one country against the government of another country should never be made by force." The enunciation of the Drago Doctrine called forth much comment, especially in South America. It occupied an important place on the program of the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 and in the following year was submitted, with certain modifications, to the Second Hague Conference by one of the United States representatives, General Porter. The conference by a large majority finally approved the resolution, with the proviso that it should not be operative when the debtor state refuses to arbitrate, or having consented, declines to accept the arbitral decision.

The Roosevelt Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The blockade of Venezuela and the pronouncement of the Drago Doctrine brought the United States face to face with the problem of the responsibility for the good behavior of the weaker and less scrupulous of the Latin-American states. If left to their own devises such countries, especially those burdened with debts beyond their unassisted capacity to pay, were constantly exposed to foreign intervention. At best such intervention might take the form of a blockade or seizure and administration of the custom houses; at worst the form of the occupation of American territory by European powers. The fact that these states were all within the Caribbean region and hence close to both the United States and the approaches to the Panama Canal aggravated the seriousness of the problem. President Roosevelt stated the issue clearly in his annual message of 1904 when he declared:

> Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. . . . Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in the loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing of importance, to the exercise of an international police power.

This Roosevelt interpretation or corollary of the Monroe Doctrine, sometimes known as the "big-stick" policy, was the logical outcome of the President's conviction that the United States had reached the period when it was necessary either to abandon the Monroe Doctrine or extend its application. The immediate result, as noted elsewhere, was the taking over and administration of the finances of the Dominican Republic. President Roosevelt's views have been shared by his successors, with the result that the United States has been constrained to intervene in the affairs of Haiti and Nicaragua. President Wilson even went so far as to warn the Latin-American nations against the policy of granting to foreign countries concessions so sweeping in character as to constitute a lien on their resources or to give rise to claims which might lead to embarrassing political complications. The English Pearson oil syndicate relinquished its extensive concessions in Colombia as a result of this attitude of the United States.

One further development of the Monroe Doctrine remains to be mentioned. In 1912 rumors were rife that an American company was contemplating the sale of concessions on Magdalena Bay to a Japanese enterprise. The result was a resolution presented by Senator Lodge to the effect that:

> When any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government, not American, as to give that government practical power of control for naval or military purposes.

It should be noted that on a number of occasions either the House or the Senate has passed resolutions interpretative of the foreign policy of the United States; but these are not to be regarded as definite governmental declaration of such policy, which remains the function of the President. This particular resolution, which passed the Senate by a vote of fifty-one to

four, was directed against Japan, but there is no reason to believe that the principle it embodied would not be invoked in the case of some European power, the activity of whose nationals might constitute a potential menace to the United States. It is conceivable, for instance, that the leasing by Ecuador of the Galápagos Islands to European interests presumably enjoying official support would fall within the scope of this resolution, owing to the strategic location of these islands in reference to the Pacific entrance of the Panama Canal.

The Attitude of Latin America Toward the Monroe Doctrine. It is a well-known fact that the Monroe Doctrine has on certain occasions been the object of dislike or resentment on the part of many Latin Americans. Much of the hostile criticism has been directed not so much against the Doctrine in its pristine significance as against what may be regarded as interpretations and enlargements. There has also frequently existed an unfortunate confusion between the Monroe Doctrine and the general policy of the United States toward Latin America. As first enunciated, the doctrine was welcomed throughout the newly created states of America, although the opinion was widely prevalent that Great Britain and her navy formed the most effective obstacle to the designs of the Holy Alliance. Two states, however, were so impressed with Monroe's pronouncement that they offered to share in the responsibilities as well as to partake of the benefits of the new policy. Less than two months after the reading of President Monroe's message the Brazilian government issued instructions to its representative at Washington to propose to the United States an offensive and defensive alliance on the basis of the Doctrine, acting on the principle "that it was not in accordance with reason, justice, and right that sacrifices, such as those which the United States undertook to make for the other American nations, should be accepted gratuitously." In 1824 Vice-President Santander, of the Republic of Colombia, informed Secretary John Quincy Adams through the Colombian representative at Washington that his government had learned with the greatest pleasure of the enunciation of the new policy of the

United States and expressed a desire "to know if the United States will enter into a treaty of alliance with her (Colombia) to save America from the calamities of a despotic system." These overtures were courteously but firmly declined by the United States.

Twenty years had barely passed before criticism began to appear. The attitude of the United States during and after the Mexican War led some Latin Americans to believe that they had more to fear from the northern republic than from Europe. The Argentine writer, Alberdi, whose views regarding the origin of the Monroe Doctrine we have already noted, was convinced that the Doctrine, far from aiding the growth of the Latin-American states, served as a check on their political and cultural evolution by preventing all European intervention, even when beneficent in intent. An alliance with Europe, the source of Latin-American ideals and civilization, was in his judgment to be preferred to any *rapprochement* with the United States. One of the most detailed and trenchant criticisms of the Monroe Doctrine ever written in South America was that of the Brazilian publicist, Eduardo Prado. His thesis, as developed in his work, *A Illusão Americana,* first published in 1903, was that the Monroe Doctrine served not so much as a bulwark against European intervention as a convenient cloak for aggression on Latin America by the United States. The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico were among the proofs cited to support his contention. Prado's views, it should be noted in passing, are not those of the majority of Brazilian writers; in fact his book was suppressed by the Brazilian government.

More Recent Criticism of the Monroe Doctrine. It could hardly be expected that the Roosevelt interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, followed by the intervention of the United States in the Caribbean and Central America, could escape hostile criticism. Among Latin-American journalists and publicists, who have in their speeches and writings attacked both the Monroe Doctrine and the general policy of the United States in the New World, may be singled out the Argentine, Manuel Ugarte.

In 1913 Sr. Ugarte made a tour throughout South America, denouncing the attitude of the United States toward her sister republics, especially the alleged encouragement given to unscrupulous concession hunters. In an open letter addressed to Woodrow Wilson just prior to his inauguration he voices what he regards as the hopes and desires of Latin America toward their powerful neighbor to the north:

> We desire that Cuba be freed from the grievous burden of the Platt Amendment; we desire that Nicaragua be permitted once more to become the arbiter of her own destiny; we desire that the situation in Porto Rico be modified in a manner consonant with right and humanity; we desire that the abominable injustice committed against Colombia be rectified; we desire that to Panama . . . be conceded the dignity of a nation; we desire that the pressure exerted on the port of Guayaquil come to an end; we desire that the archipelago of the Galapagos be respected; we desire that freedom be granted the heroic people of the Philippines; we desire that Mexico should not continually see the sword of Damocles of intervention suspended over her flag; we desire that companies which exceed their legitimate authority cease to find support for their unjust aggressions; we desire that the United States abstain from intervening officiously in the internal politics of our countries and that she cease acquiring harbors or ports in our continent. . . . We demand equality; we demand respect; we demand in short, that the stars and stripes cease to be a symbol of oppression in the New World.[1]

While certain counts in this indictment are either exaggerated or unsupported by fact, it would be idle to deny that Ugarte's views are shared by a considerable number of Latin Americans. The chief cause of this suspicion and hostility is the apprehension that the United States is utilizing and expanding the Monroe Doctrine for her own selfish purposes and to the detriment of her sister republics. In recent years laudable efforts have been made by representative public men of the United States to dissipate this fear. In his tour through South America in 1906 Secretary Root stated that the Monroe Doctrine was "an assertion to all the world of the competency of Latin Americans to govern themselves." In his address of welcome to Sr. Lauro Müller,

[1] *Cuba Contemporánea*, June, 1913.

Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered in 1913, Mr. Root asserted that "there is neither to the Monroe Doctrine nor any other doctrine or purpose of the American government any corollary of dominion or aggression or aught but equal friendship." On various occasions President Wilson stressed this point of view. In 1913 he declared: "The United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." On the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Bolívar in New York in 1921, President Harding asserted that the United States claimed no special privilege for herself under the Monroe Doctrine:

> There have been times, he declared, when the meaning of Monroeism was misunderstood by some, perverted by others, and made the subject of distorting propaganda by those who saw in it an obstacle to the realization of their own ambitions. . . . They have falsely charged that we sought to hold the nations of the Old World at arm's length in order that we might monopolize the privilege of exploitation for ourselves. . . . The history of the generations since the Doctrine was proclaimed has proved that we never intended it selfishly; that we had no dreams of exploitation.

Unfortunately these declarations, in the opinion of many Latin Americans, are hardly consonant with the policy pursued in recent years by the United States toward certain of the Caribbean and the Central-American republics. There is a growing belief that the Monroe Doctrine demands a further and more exact definition if it is to act as a cohesive rather than a repellent force between the United States and the remaining American republics. But the present and future status of the Doctrine may be more conveniently discussed after a brief reference to Pan-Americanism and the international situation of Latin America as a result of the Great War and the Treaty of Versailles.

Pan-Americanism. A movement which in its scope and development reveals a certain parallelism to the Monroe Doctrine is Pan-Americanism. The term is not easy of definition. In its essence, however, it may be described as a moral union of the independent states of the Western Hemisphere, based upon cer-

tain distinctive principles which these states have in common and which they do not share—at least to any considerable degree—with Europe. These principles, which have their origin in geographical proximity and a common struggle for independence, may be defined as the belief in democracy as the ideal type of government, recourse to law rather than force for the settlement of international disputes, the maintenance of the territorial integrity of each of the American republics, the nonintervention of European powers in purely American affairs, and co-operation on the part of the American nations in the solution of their common problems and the safeguarding of their common interests. In its practical manifestations Pan-Americanism has aimed at the promotion of closer economic, political, and cultural relations among the republics of the New World.

Origin of the Pan-American Movement. The Congress of Panama. Although the term "Pan-American" did not appear until well toward the end of the nineteenth century, the origin of the movement goes back to the days of the Spanish-American revolution. To Henry Clay has sometimes been given the title of the first Pan-American, owing to his fervent belief in the community of interest of the American republics based on similarity of political principles. To Clay the followers of Bolívar and San Martín were neighbors and brethren, because they were inhabitants of the same continent and in their struggle for freedom had followed the trail blazed by Washington. In his plea for the recognition of the South-American governments he declared that it was in the power of the United States to become the center of a system—of which all South America should be a part—"which would constitute the rallying point of human wisdom against all the despotism of the Old World." Clay's plea for the political solidarity of the independent states of America was reinforced from another quarter. In 1824 Bolívar, then President of Peru, first broached the idea of holding a conference of the American nations at Panama. The object of this gathering was declared to be "the establishment of certain fixed principles for securing the preservation of peace between the nations of America and

the concurrence of all those nations in defense of their own rights." Invitations to send delegates to such an assembly were eventually dispatched by Bolívar to all the independent states of the two Americas including the Empire of Brazil.

The Congress finally met at Panama in 1826. Only four Spanish-American republics were represented; of the delegates appointed by the United States one died *en route* and the other arrived after the conclusion of the sessions. But two regular sessions were held and only four conventions were concluded. Yet the terms of those conventions were of the most comprehensive character and possess a real historic interest. One dealt with the creation of a perpetual union or confederation, designed to uphold by means of alliances the territorial integrity of each of the confederated states. Another provided for the arbitration of all boundary disputes, the decision to be enforced by the confederation. To carry out the decisions of the confederation provision was made for the holding of a biennial assembly, a sort of amphictyonic council, to which each member should send two delegates. As regards practical results, the congress was admittedly a failure. The conventions were ratified by none of the states save Colombia. Yet the congress was significant, not only because it revealed the vision and prescience of Bolívar, but also because it anticipated in certain important respects the lines of development the Pan-American movement was destined to follow.

The Movement Toward Continental Solidarity. For a full half century after the Congress of Panama, no attempt was made to enlist all the American nations in any joint undertaking. But the ideals and lofty purposes of Bolívar and Clay were not entirely forgotten. Congresses to which a number of the Spanish-American states sent delegates were held at Lima in 1847 and 1864; at Santiago in 1856, and at Bogotá in 1880. Though many of the proposals made at these gatherings were impracticable and the definite results were all but negligible, these meetings deserve a more careful study than has generally been accorded them. Many of the ablest statesmen and publicists of

South America participated in these assemblies. A public sentiment was slowly being crystallized, even in the more backward and turbulent of the Spanish-American republics, in favor of some kind of international co-operation. The intensity of local rivalries began to decline, the bonds of common language and civilization were being gradually drawn tighter; the time was approaching when the citizens of Uruguay and Venezuela, for example, could look beyond the narrow confines of their states and assume what might be called a continental attitude.

The First Pan-American Conference. The movement toward solidarity just noted could hardly be described as continental or Pan-American, as long as the great republic of the north held aloof. As a matter of fact, the United States had in some respects lost ground in Latin America since the days of Monroe. The generous hope of Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams of a sympathetic union of the American nations, to a position of leadership over which the United States might aspire, proved premature. Great Britain continued to hold the lion's share of the trade with South America, and her prestige and influence remained correspondingly great. That the policy of the United States toward Spanish America underwent a profound change and the movement toward co-operation was revived on a broader basis than was envisaged by either Clay or Bolívar, was due largely to the efforts of James G. Blaine. In 1881, while Secretary of State under Garfield, Blaine issued invitations to the Spanish-American republics and the Empire of Brazil to send delegates to a congress to be held at Washington "for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America." Though several countries accepted, the invitations were withdrawn as the result of Blaine's resignation, following the assassination of President Garfield. The project of a Pan-American conference was, however, not entirely dropped. In 1888 Secretary Bayard issued invitations to the independent nations of Latin America and also to Hawaii to send delegates to a conference to be held at Washington in October, 1889. By a fortunate coincidence Blaine was once more

Secretary of State when the conference finally met. He presided over its sessions and guided its deliberations with tact and skill.

The program for the first, and in some respects the most important, of the series of Pan-American conferences, was carefully prepared. On the agenda were such subjects as the adoption of a customs union or American Zollverein, improved railway and steamship communication between the American nations, trademark legislation, the creation of a Pan-American monetary union and a Pan-American bank, and finally, the formulation of a definite plan for the arbitration of international disputes. It will be seen that this program was ambitious and far-sweeping in character and, had it been carried out in its entirety, would have profoundly altered the economic and even the political relation of the American states. But the actual results of the conference proved meager and disappointing. To be sure Blaine was able to secure such modifications of the McKinley tariff bill of 1890 as to permit him and his successor Foster to negotiate eight reciprocity treaties with Latin-American states, or with European governments for their American colonies, but these treaties went out of existence when the Wilson tariff bill was passed in 1894. Few of the conventions approved by the conference were ratified. Such was the fate of the convention which declared that the countries represented would adopt arbitration "as a principle of American international law" for the settlement of their controversies. The sole tangible results of the conference were the appointment of a committee to report on a Pan-American railway and the creation of the International Bureau of American Republics with its headquarters at Washington.

Succeeding Pan-American Conferences. The Second International American Conference was held in Mexico City in 1901-1902. Efforts were made to carry forward the work left uncompleted by the first conference. The subject which aroused the most discussion and threatened for a time to disrupt the conference was the question of compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Peru, who desired to submit to arbitration certain

conflicting interpretations of the treaty of Ancón, eagerly championed this principle. A number of the Latin-American republics supported Peru's contention. The Chilean delegates, on the other hand, were opposed to all discussions of obligatory arbitration. One of the United States delegates found a way out of the *impasse* by inducing the delegates to sign a protocol of adherence to the Hague Convention of 1899 for the pacific settlement of international disputes. The delegates of seventeen countries, including the United States, finally signed a treaty providing for the arbitration of certain financial claims that could not be settled through diplomatic channels. The Third International Conference met at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. The pecuniary claims convention drafted at the previous conference was extended for another five years. As noted elsewhere, partly as a result of the enunciation of the Drago Doctrine, the conference recommended to the governments represented that they instruct their delegates to the Second Hague Conference—scheduled to meet in 1907—"to examine the question of the compulsory collection of public debts, and, in general, means to diminish between nations conflicts having an exclusively pecuniary origin." The conference was rendered notable by the lavish hospitality of the Brazilians and the presence of Secretary Root, sent on a special mission to South America by the United States government. Mr. Root gave a series of notable addresses which did much to further the Pan-American movement. The Fourth International American Conference met in Buenos Aires in 1910. Perhaps its greatest achievement was the expansion of the International Bureau of American Republics into the Pan-American Union. This organization, originally little more than a clearing house of commercial information, now had its functions greatly enlarged and during the last decade has gained enormously in prestige and influence. Its management is entrusted to a board composed of the Latin-American diplomatic envoys resident in Washington and the United States Secretary of State. While its chief function continues to be the collection and dissemination of authoritative data on the commerce and general development

of Pan America, it has effectively supported every movement toward Pan-American co-operation and on various occasions has successfully exerted its influence toward the pacific solution of thorny and menacing controversies among its members. The Pan-American Union is housed in a beautiful and dignified structure in Washington, the gift of Andrew Carnegie.

Pan-American Scientific Congresses. The gatherings just described were mainly diplomatic and political in character, and their chief duties the drafting of conventions for ratification by the various governments represented. There has been a growing conviction, however, among those interested in the furtherance of Pan-American comity that the establishment of closer cultural and intellectual relations is fully as important as the signing of treaties or conventions. This ideal was partially realized through the meeting of Latin-American scientific congresses in Buenos Aires in 1898, in Montevideo in 1901, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1905. At this last congress it was determined to enlarge the scope of these gatherings by the inclusion of the United States. The first Pan-American, in contradistinction to Latin-American Scientific Congress, was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1908. A large number of papers dealing with problems of peculiar interest to America in the fields of archæology, anthropology, public law, sanitation, medicine, public finance, and education were read by scholars representing almost all of the American republics. The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress met at Washington in 1915-1916. The sessions of this gathering were notable not only on account of the number and immense range of the papers presented—the proceedings fill ten bulky volumes—but also because of the significant pronouncements made by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing touching the relations of the American states with each other and with Europe. As has already been noted, President Wilson had on various occasions endeavored to allay the suspicions of Latin America toward the United States by a disclaimer on the part of the northern republic of any desire for territorial expansion at the expense of her southern neighbors. In his address before the Scientific Congress

delivered on January 6, 1916, he declared that if the states of America were to come into their own in a world of peace and order they must establish the foundations of amity so that no one will hereafter doubt them.

> This will be accomplished, said the President, in the first place, by the states of America uniting in guaranteeing to each other absolute political independence and territorial integrity. In the second place, and as a necessary corollary to that, guaranteeing the agreement to settle all pending boundary disputes as soon as possible and by amicable process; by agreeing that all disputes among themselves, should they unhappily arise, will be handled by patient, impartial investigation and settled by arbitration; and the agreement necessary to the peace of the Americas, that no state of either continent will permit revolutionary expeditions against another state to be fitted out in its territory, and that they will prohibit the exportation of the munitions of war for the purpose of supplying revolutionists against neighboring governments.

These proposals were accepted "in principle" by a number of American governments, but the matter went no further. There was some apprehension lest these proposals, though reciprocal in terms, would in reality recognize the right of the United States to interfere in the affairs of the weaker states. Yet in spite of these objections, this comprehensive program, sometimes described as the "New Pan-Americanism," the "Pan-American Monroe Doctrine," or even the "Wilson Doctrine" represents the ideals, in the opinion of many Latin-American statesmen and publicists, to which Pan-Americanism should aspire.

Pan-American Financial Conferences. One other type of international American conference deserves to be noted. As a result of the economic dislocation following the outbreak of the European War, a number of statesmen and financiers came to realize the desirability of closer fiscal and commercial relations between the United States and Latin America. The United States took the initiative and on the invitation of Secretary Bryan there assembled at Washington in May, 1915, the first Pan-American Financial Conference. This gathering differed in at least two fundamental respects from all previous Pan-

American assemblies. The agenda placed upon the program were rigorously limited to topics well within the bounds of practicality, and at the same time adequate machinery was created for carrying out the specific proposals and recommendations of the conference. The peculiar financial and economic problems of each of the seventeen Latin-American countries represented were assigned to as many special committees for study and report, while two general committees considered the major topic of the improvement of commercial relations between the United States and Latin America. For the primary purpose of translating into legislative and administrative action the recommendations of the conference there was created the International High Commission, composed of the minister of finance or secretaries of the treasury of the American republics and such assistants and technical experts as they may care to appoint. The Commission is a permanent organization, supported by governmental appropriations. It soon justified its existence, since largely through its efforts more than half the proposals of the First Financial Conference have been actually carried out. The Second Pan-American Financial Conference was even more successful than the first. This body met in 1920 to consider the effects of the war on the commerce, industries, and public utilities of the Latin-American countries, as well as the many baffling problems of reconstruction. The eighteen recommendations adopted embodied constructive suggestions looking to the solution of at least the most pressing of these post-war problems. The Inter-American High Commission—as the International High Commission is now called—has been successful in securing the adoption of a number of these recommendations.

Latin America and the War. One test of the vitality of the Pan-American movement was to be found in the crucible of war. When the entry of the United States into the Great War brought the Western Hemisphere within the area of hostilities the question at once arose: Would the remaining members of the Pan-American family of nations remain passive spectators in the contest between the forces of freedom and autocracy, or would

they elect to follow the example of the United States? Though not unanimous, the answer was impressive. Eight of the Latin-American republics eventually entered the war: Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. Five others broke off relations with Germany: Bolivia, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Uruguay. Seven remained neutral: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Salvador, Venezuela, and Paraguay. The extent to which the doctrine of Pan-American solidarity was a factor in determining the attitude of Latin America toward the war naturally varied in different countries. In those republics which severed relations or declared war it was important if not decisive. Even in a number of the neutral countries, such as Argentina, public opinion made common cause with and indorsed the action of the United States. It was this fact which led Ambassador Naón of Argentina to declare that, even if the solidarity of the continent was broken, the spirit of Pan-Americanism was saved.

Other Factors in the Attitude of Latin America Toward the War. Significant as it was, the influence of Pan-Americanism at this crisis might easily be exaggerated. It was neutralized in part by the suspicions of the United States and her motives present, as we have seen, in varying degrees in all of the southern republics. But the reactions of these nations to the war and its issues can be fully understood only through some appreciation of the close and intimate relationship which has existed and still exists between them and Europe. It seems appropriate at this point therefore to touch upon a few of the points of contact—political, economic, and cultural—between Latin America and the most important of the European belligerents.

France and Latin America. If racially the Latin Americans of European descent hark back to Spanish and Portuguese origins, in all that makes up their culture and civilization, their debt to France has been immeasurable. This appears in a thousand ways. French is spoken by all educated Latin Americans; French textbooks are used extensively in all of the higher schools; French art and literature have served as the standards

which Latin-American writers and artists have consciously or unconsciously followed; French political theories have affected the constitutional development of many of the Latin-American states, especially those which have adopted the unitary type of government. The achievements of French citizens and their descendants in Latin America have contributed to this devotion to all things Gallic. At various times throughout the nineteenth century French scientists have conducted notable explorations in South America. The list is headed by Humboldt's companion and collaborator, Bonbland, who after extensive explorations in the northern part of the continent was made a prisoner by Francia when he attempted to enter Paraguay. Boussingault in Peru and Bolivia (1825-1831), d'Obrigny in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru (1826-1833), and Castelnau in the central part of South America (1843-1847) are among the most prominent of the great French explorers. In other fields, especially education, the French have made notable contributions. In the sixties the economist Courcelle-Seneuil introduced the scientific study of political economy in the Law Faculty of Santiago; a member of the Institute of France, Claude Gay, wrote a remarkable history of Chile; Aimé Pissis prepared the first topographic map of the country. In Argentina notable personages of French descent have been Paul Groussac, long director of the National Library at Buenos Aires and M. Tays, the distinguished director of the Zoölogical Garden in the same city. In Brazil, Ferdinand Denis in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, wrote a series of remarkable books and monographs, which did much to reveal to the scholarly world the wealth of Brazilian history and traditions. Indicative of the close intellectual affiliation between Brazil and France was the establishment just before the outbreak of the war of a chair of Brazilian history and institutions at the University of Paris. The first of the notable Brazilians to occupy this post was the historian Dr. Oliveira Lima, who in 1911 delivered a series of remarkable lectures on the evolution of Brazilian nationality. The extent of Latin-America's debt to France in the domain of culture and civilization was strikingly

revealed on the outbreak of the war. Professor Carles, of the University of Buenos Aires, voiced the opinion of many Latin-American intellectuals when he declared: "In our literary circles, in our artistic coteries, in the scientific academies of our universities, and in the mansions of the aristocracy, France was revered as was Athens in the days of Pericles." Possessed of such cultural and spiritual heritages, most Latin Americans instinctively felt that the issues of the war ultimately resolved themselves into a struggle between Latin civilization and Teutonic aggression, fully as much as into a contest between liberalism and democracy.

Great Britain and Latin America. As noted elsewhere, British interest in Latin America dates back to the days of independence. Not only did British diplomacy help protect Brazil from the designs of Napoleon, and Spanish America from possible intervention by the Holy Alliance, but British subjects directly participated in the wars of liberation. It is only necessary to recall in this connection the exploits of Lord Cochrane in Chile and Brazil, and those of the British legion in Venezuela and New Granada. Nor has English scientific interest in Latin America ever been lacking. The visit of Charles Darwin to the southern and western portions of South America in 1832, so graphically described in his *Voyage of the Beagle,* and the lengthy sojourn in the fifties of the naturalists Henry Bates and A. R. Wallace in the Amazon basin, are cases in point. English missionary enterprise also deserves mention. With heroism and devotion not unworthy of Las Casas or Anchieta, English missionaries have labored among the Patagonian and Araucanian Indians and have contributed not a little to weaning them from barbarism. As has already been pointed out, British capital and British trade have from the days of their independence been powerful factors in the economic development of nearly all of the Latin-American nations. In the field of transportation, for instance, England was the pioneer country in the building of railways and has reaped a magnificent reward, as is attested by her control of the great railway systems of Argentina. Prior to the war most of Latin-America's foreign loans were floated in London, and international

exchange was usually calculated in terms of English currency. Although the English have tended to preserve their national identity, in certain South-American countries, notably Chile, there has been considerable intermarriage and names of English origin frequently appear on the pages of Chilean history. Thus for reasons historical, economic, and social, England had a powerful hold on the sympathies and interests of the Latin Americans at the outbreak of the war.

Italy and Latin America. Italy's chief contribution to Latin America has been the labor of her sons. From the early days of the nineteenth century up to 1914 an ever-increasing stream of Italian immigration has found its way to South America, especially to Argentina and Brazil, amounting in the case of the former country to nearly two and a quarter millions and of the latter a million and a quarter. Through their energy and frugality many of these Italians have risen to opulence, and their descendants have attained to some of the highest positions in political life. Examples are former President Pelligrini, of Argentina, and Sr. Alessandri, the present chief magistrate of Chile. Naturally these Italian elements were profoundly moved by Italy's entry into the war and early championed the cause of *Italia irredenta.*

Spain and Latin America. Despite the fact that Spain was the common motherland of all but two members of the Latin-American family of nations, her influence has lagged far behind that of France. Commerce with Spain represented in 1913 barely three per cent of Latin-American's total foreign trade. Spanish immigration falls far below that from Italy. Finally, Spanish influence in the domain of letters and the fine arts has not attained such proportions as one might suppose. The reasons for this relatively unfavorable position of Spain are not far to seek. The bitterness engendered by the long wars of liberation was perpetuated through the tardy recognition by Spain of the independence of her former colonies. Even now there is a disposition on the part of many Spanish-Americans to look upon Spain as a backward country and to minimize or ignore her beneficent work

as a colonizing power. Contrary tendencies, however, are to be noted. For sentimental and other reasons many Spanish-Americans preached a solidarity based on a common language, literature, and traditions. The movement described as "Hispanismo" or Pan-Hispanism, though partly intended to serve as a counterpoise to alleged imperialistic tendencies of the United States, has likewise aimed at a closer approximation between Spanish America and Spain. Farseeing Spaniards have realized advantages to be gained from such a *rapprochement,* and have endeavored to further it in various ways. The visit of the Infanta Isabel to the Argentine and Chilean centenary celebrations in 1910; the presence in South America of such distinguished historians and scholars as Professors Altamira and Posada; the plans approaching maturity on the eve of the war for a great Spanish-American exposition at Seville; the commercial activities of the "Casa de América" at Barcelona, are a few of the evidences of the endeavors of Spain to repair the strands which were so rudely severed a century ago. During the course of the war such Spanish influence as existed in America was thrown mainly on the side of the Central Powers. This was perhaps to be expected in view of the attitude of Spain herself. Germany was quick to seize this advantage: some of the most notorious agents employed by the German government were Spaniards. That the members of the higher clergy in Latin America were frequently pro-German is explained in part by the presence in their ranks of many Spanish priests, in part by their hostility toward France, owing to the anticlerical legislation dating from the separation of church and state.

Germany and Latin America. German interest in Latin America may be said to date back to the early sixteenth century, when Charles V granted Venezuela to the Augsburg banking firm of the Welsers. Throughout the nineteenth century German immigrants found their way in considerable numbers into Latin America. Save in southern Brazil, where they settled in compact groups, these immigrants became assimilated and identified themselves completely with the countries of their adoption.

German scientific interest in Latin America began with the remarkable journeys of Alexander von Humboldt through Mexico, Cuba, and northern South America just at the end of the colonial period. His numerous works based on these expeditions are of interest both to scientists and to historians. His *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* is one of the best surveys we possess of the colonial *régime* in Mexico. Other German scientists have done much to reveal to the world a knowledge of the geography and ethnology of Latin America. Portions of the Amazon basin were explored by Prince Adelbert of Prussia in 1840 and Karl von den Steinen in 1884-85. After extensive explorations throughout central and western South America in 1850-1852, Hermann Burmeister, formerly of the University of Halle, was appointed in 1861 director of the National Museum of Buenos Aires, a position which he held until his death in 1892. The most satisfactory account we possess of the geology and geography of Ecuador was that published in 1892 by Theodore Wolf after long residence in that country.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century German interest in Latin America assumed wider proportions. The reputation enjoyed by German educational methods led to the employment, frequently through government contract, of German professors in universities and normal schools. At the same time army officers were engaged as military instructors in a number of republics where they strove, not without success, to inculcate the spirit of German militarism. German industrialists, bankers, and exporters, though late arrivals in the field, displayed amazing ingenuity and perseverance in opening up new markets for German products or in conquering old ones. Their agents copied with fidelity the manners of the Latin Americans, flattered their *amour propre,* and catered to their whims and fancies. The importance placed by Germany on the activity of her nationals is revealed by Professor Gast, director of the German South American Institute at Aix-la-Chapelle—one of the semiofficial bodies organized to further German aims in South America. Professor Gast writes:

> Germany's main asset, is the German in South America. Every German abroad means the investment of interest-bearing capital for German cultural expansion. . . . Two things are required of him, to win esteem by good works and to place his personal influence at the disposal of German national ends. . . . He must equip himself by assimilating Latin culture, must use his knowledge of French culture, and oppose French culture by encouraging Spanish culture. . . . We must never forget that our object is to catch souls, particularly those that do not wish to let themselves be caught.[1]

The success of Germany's program of trade expansion is witnessed by the fact that in 1913 her commerce with Latin America ran well over a third of a billion dollars. Germany's skillfully directed economic and intellectual penetration bore fruit in other fields when, on the outbreak of the war, an influential minority in a number of the Latin-American republics espoused the cause of the Central Powers. This minority would undoubtedly have been larger had it not been for the indignation caused by the violation of Belgium and the German methods of warfare in northern France.

Brazil and the War. Of the thirteen Latin-American nations which aligned themselves with the Allies and the United States, to the extent of declaring war against or breaking relations with Germany, only two, Brazil and Cuba, took an active part in the war. From the very first the sympathies of the vast majority of the Brazilians inclined toward the Allies. Under the presidency of Ruy Barbosa, one of Brazil's most distinguished public men and one of the most brilliant orators of Latin America, a league was organized for aiding the Allies through the medium of the Red Cross and other agencies. The pro-Ally war sentiment was naturally strengthened through the adhesion of Portugal, Brazil's former mother country, to the ranks of the belligerents in the spring of 1916. On Germany's announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare in January, 1917, Brazil registered a formal protest and declared that she would hold the Imperial government responsible for any acts contrary to international law affecting Brazilian citizens or their property. The sinking

[1] *Deutschland und Südamerika.* (Stuttgart u. Berlin, 1915), pages 25 ff.

of the Brazilian steamer *Paraná* off the coast of France on April 5th led on April 11th to the severing of relations, followed shortly by the seizure of forty-six German ships interned in Brazilian ports. On June 1st Brazil revoked the decree of technical neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany. In a circular letter, sent to all the powers to which the republic was accredited, the Brazilian government explained that in taking this step Brazil has "recognized that one of the belligerents (the United States) is an integral part of the American continent, and that we are bound to this belligerent by a traditional friendship and by a similarity of political opinion in the defense of the vital interest of America and the principles accepted by international law." Furthermore, Brazil desired in this critical moment of the world's history to give to her foreign policy "a practical form of continental solidarity—a policy indeed which was that of the old *régime* on every occasion on which any of the other friendly sister nations of the American continent were in jeopardy." In his reply to this note, President Wilson expressed the deep appreciation of the United States and the hope that the act of the Brazilian Congress "is the forerunner of the attitude to be assumed by the rest of the American states." On October 26, 1917, on the receipt of the news that another Brazilian ship had been sunk by a German submarine, a resolution recognizing "the state of war initiated by the German government against Brazil" was adopted unanimously in the Brazilian Senate and by a vote of 149 to 1 in the Chamber of Deputies.

Once Brazil had become a full belligerent, her most immediate and pressing problem was that of internal defense. On November 17, 1917, was passed the so-called "War Law," which invested the government with extraordinary powers, including the authorization to declare any section of the country in a state of siege. This provision was chiefly aimed at the suppression of possible disorders in those parts of southern Brazil where the bulk of the population of German descent—estimated at from a quarter to half a million—was concentrated. But, despite the

fact that this region had long appeared on the maps of Pan-German chauvinists as an outpost of *Deutschtum,* the present crisis found the great majority of the German population loyal to Brazil, and such disorders as did occur—chiefly in the coast towns—were easily suppressed. Aside from a number of aviators, Brazil had no soldiers on the western front. The army was put on a war footing, but the dearth of shipping made the despatch of an expeditionary force to Europe all but impossible. In December, 1917, Brazil sent two cruisers and four destroyers to co-operate with the allied fleet in European waters. A group of Brazilian physicians and a well-equipped hospital were among the other Brazilian contributions to the common cause. Yet, all things considered, Brazil's most important contribution toward the winning of the war was to be seen in her successful efforts to augment the quantity of food stuffs needed by the Allies; especially was this true of such articles as refrigerated beef, sugar, and beans. Brazil participated in the Peace Conference and was given representation on the Council of the League of Nations.

Cuba and the War. From the beginning to the end of the struggle Cuba acted in the closest co-operation with the United States. Her declaration of war followed but one day that of the northern republic. The German ships interned in her harbors were turned over to the United States authorities. On the recommendation of President Menocal, Congress authorized a war loan of thirty million dollars. Onerous taxes were levied to meet the extraordinary war expenses. In May, 1918, Congress passed a law granting for the duration of hostilities an annual credit of $2,400,000 for the benefit of the victims of the war. The greater part of this sum was assigned to the Red Cross and kindred organizations of the United States and the Allies. Cuba's greatest single contribution to the common cause was her sugar crop. The yield for 1918 amounted to nearly three and a half million tons, the greatest in the history of the island. The total crop was sold to the United States Sugar Equalization Board at a price which little more than covered the cost of production. Had the war lasted another year, there is

little doubt that Cuban soldiers would have been found on the western front. On August 3, 1918, an obligatory military service bill was passed, and a number of military and naval training camps were established. The same act empowered the Executive to send a contingent of volunteers to Europe. On September 19th, the Cuban Secretary of State informed Mr. Lansing that "Cuba is disposed to organize and send without delay the contingent provided for by the law of August 3d," and requested the co-operation of the United States in the matter of transport. Unfortunately, no ships were at the time available, and Secretary Lansing was obliged to reply that "the government of the United States profoundly regrets that it is not in a position to avail itself at this moment of the highly appreciated offer of the Cuban government to send forces to Europe."

Argentina and the War. Although a large part of the population and most of the influential newspapers were pro-Ally, Argentina remained neutral throughout the war. During the first three years of the contest the country profited greatly through the increased exports of frozen meats and grain. On Germany's announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare, Argentina declared that she would "adjust her conduct, as always, to the fundamental rules and principles of international law." When the United States declared war on Germany, the government merely recognized the justice of the causes that moved the government at Washington to take such a step, but showed no disposition to abandon neutrality. This lukewarm attitude was severely censured by Dr. Drago, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and author of the Drago doctrine. He advised the government to follow the example of the United States, at least to the extent of breaking relations with Germany. "The War between Germany and America," he asserted, "is a struggle of democracy versus absolutism and no American nation can remain neutral without denying its past and compromising its future." In the spring and summer of 1917 relations with Germany became strained, owing to the sinking of three Argentine ships by German submarines. The Argentine government demanded not

only compensation for losses, but formal assurance that Argentine ships would be spared in the future. After some haggling the Imperial government agreed to these demands; Argentina had won a concession vouchsafed to no other neutral power. The real character of this diplomatic triumph was revealed by the publication of September 8th, by the United States of a number of intercepted despatches addressed to the German Foreign Office by the German Minister at Buenos Aires, Count Luxburg. In these notes the Imperial government was advised either to spare the Argentine ships entering the barred zone or to sink them without trace (*spurlos versenkt*). At the same time the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs was characterized as "a notorious ass and an anglophile." This cynical violation of the first principles of neutrality aroused an immediate demand for a declaration of war against Germany or at least a break of diplomatic relations. Luxburg was given his passports and both the Senate and Chamber of Deputies passed resolutions authorizing the President to sever relations with Germany. President Irigoyen, however, professed himself to be satisfied with Germany's disavowal of Luxburg's conduct and refused to depart from his policy of strict neutrality. As a protest against the attitude of his government, Dr. Naón, the Argentine Ambassador at Washington, tendered his resignation.

Chile and the War. With her outlook on the south Pacific, Chile was farthest removed of all of the Latin-American powers from the center of hostilities. While much sympathy existed for the Allied cause, especially in the navy, which since the days of Lord Cochrane had been influenced by English ideals and traditions, German propaganda had at the outbreak of the war made greater progress in Chile than in any other South-American country. The Chilean army, trained as we have seen by German officers, was thoroughly pro-German. Many of the higher clergy harbored German sympathies. During the first few months of hostilities Chile's most trying and baffling problem was the safeguarding of her neutrality. In the autumn of 1914 a powerful German fleet under Admiral von Spee visited a number of Chilean

islands and cruised along the Chilean coast, violating Chilean neutrality on at least five different occasions. Even worse offenders were the numerous merchant ships of the Kosmos Company. Acting under admiralty orders, these vessels showed a complete disregard for Chile's rights and obligations as a neutral. Over repeated protests of the Chilean authorities they freely utilized Chilean ports as a base for furnishing supplies and information to the German fleet. From the destruction which befell von Spee's fleet off the Falkland Islands in December, 1914, only the cruiser *Dresden* escaped. While refitting in one of the harbors of the island of Juan Fernández in defiance of the port authorities, she was attacked and destroyed by an English fleet in March, 1915. Chile's protest against this violation of her neutrality was met on the part of Great Britain with a full and unqualified apology.

The Chilean government declined to recognize the submarine blockade declared by Germany in January, 1917, but inasmuch as none of her ships entered the barred zone she was spared the complications which fell to the lot of Brazil and Argentina. Chile proclaimed her neutrality when the United States entered the war and adhered to this policy throughout the struggle. Yet this neutrality worked no hardship upon the Allies; it is sufficient to remark that the large shipments of nitrate to the United States and Europe were an important factor in the winning of the war. In the latter years of the conflict public opinion shifted more and more to the Allies, and the signing of the armistice found the apologists of Germany reduced to an insignificant minority.

The Remaining Latin-American Republics. Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador severed diplomatic relations with Germany, partly as a protest against the German methods of warfare, largely as a testimony to their belief in the principles of American or continental solidarity. The attitude of these countries toward the American belligerents, especially the United States, was most clearly set forth by Uruguay. On June 17, 1917, the Uruguayan government, after proclaiming "the principle of American solidarity as the criterion of its international policy" declared that "no

American country which in defense of its own rights should find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents will be treated as a belligerent." The neutrality of Paraguay was due largely to her isolation. Colombia, though pro-Ally in sentiment, had not forgotten the loss of Panama and was therefore disinclined to adjust her foreign policy to that of the United States. In Venezuela, many of the higher officials, especially President Gómez, were pro-German in sympathy. Panama, and all the remaining Central-American republics with the exception of Salvador, declared war on Germany; this was also true of Haiti. The Dominican Republic severed diplomatic relations. In view of the strategic location of these countries, and the close economic and in some cases political relations existing between them and the United States, a strictly neutral position was hardly to be expected. Mexico proclaimed her neutrality, but President Carranza permitted the republic to become a hotbed of German propaganda. In February, 1917, with the ostensible purpose of hastening the advent of peace, he proposed that an embargo be placed by neutral nations on all supplies being sent to the belligerents. The adoption of such a policy would probably have spelled disaster for the Allies. So assured, in fact, was Germany of the sympathies of the Mexican government that Zimmermann, the Foreign Minister, proposed that Mexico should form an alliance with Japan and attack the United States, in the hope of recovering some of her former territory. But in the summer of 1918 public opinion began to veer away from Germany, especially after the visit of a delegation of Mexican newspaper men to the United States. With the signing of the armistice the last stronghold of German influence and intrigue in the New World crumbled.

Latin America and the Peace Conference. The change which the Great War had brought about in the international status of the Latin-American states was strikingly illustrated at the Peace Conference, to which over half of the American republics sent representatives. Some of these delegates were assigned to the most important committees of the Conference. Thus Dr. Epistacio Pessôa, President-elect of Brazil, and head of the Brazilian

delegation, was a member of the commission which drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations. The treaty of Versailles was signed by the delegates of Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay on June 28, 1919, and with the exception of Ecuador this action was subsequently ratified by the governments of each of the Latin-American powers represented. These powers also became members of the League of Nations, since the Covenant was an integral part of the peace treaty. By the terms of an annex of the Covenant other states were invited to join the League. Among these nations were Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Salvador, and Venezuela, all of which accepted. For special reasons Costa Rica, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic were not asked to join the League at that time; subsequently, however, Costa Rica was admitted. With the exception, therefore, of Mexico, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic and the United States, all of the American republics are at the present writing members of the League of Nations.

Effects of the War on Latin America. Only a few of the more striking and obvious results of the war as affecting the internal conditions of the Latin-American nations, as well as their relations with each other and with the United States, can be touched upon. Though it was too much to expect that Latin America should entirely escape the world-wide economic depression and moral disillusionment bound to follow four years of devastating warfare, there is reason to believe that in certain respects the good results have been preponderant over the evil. It is not merely that the war has brought to a number of these nations a quickening of the public conscience and a graver sense of national responsibility. The war has been responsible for a new era in the economic, social, and even political development of many of the southern republics. One of the most significant of these changes has been the increased dependence on their own resources and initiative. In pre-war days, Europe furnished most of the capital and much of the brains needed for the development of these countries. But with the outbreak of the war the inflow of

European capital virtually ceased, and the importation of manufactured articles showed a marked falling off. After a brief but trying period of readjustment, Latin America made a most determined effort to develop her own resources and manufacture her own goods. The result was a marvelous increase and diversification of home products and home industries and a general appreciation on the part of Latin America of her own capacity for self-development. The war has taught the Latin-American nations not only self-reliance, but also interdependence. With many of their contacts with Europe abruptly severed, they were forced to become better acquainted with one another and avail themselves of each other's resources and capital. The consequence was the creation of commercial, economic, and social bonds sufficiently strong to survive the war. It may be noted by way of example that between 1914 and 1920 the trade between Argentina and Brazil increased five hundred per cent. Chilean capital has been finding a profitable investment in the tin mines of Bolivia. Since the conclusion of the war plans have been made for the construction of five international railroads and six or more international telegraph and telephone lines. In the two years following the war some five inter-American congresses were held, for the discussion of such common interests as dairying and pastoral agriculture, immigration, police regulation, and physical education. While it would be preposterous to suggest that the war has delivered Latin America from all economic dependence upon Europe, it is clear that the southern republics will no longer continue to look to the Old World as their chief source of manufactured articles, capital, or even fuel.

A result of the war fully as significant as this increased capacity for economic self-development and growth of interdependence has been the expansion of the commercial and financial relations between Latin America and the United States. The value of the commerce between the northern republic and her sister nations to the south rose from slightly less than three-quarters of a billion dollars in 1913 to nearly three billion dollars in 1919. Even taking into account the inflated prices of goods following

the war, the increase would have been regarded a few years ago as fantastic. Much of this commerce has been carried in United States ships. In 1913 not a single vessel entered Buenos Aires flying the United States flag; in 1919, 335 United States ships entered Argentine ports. Prior to the war only foreign banking institutions were available in South America to the North-American importer or exporter; at the beginning of 1921 there were fifty North American branch banks in South America, besides an equal number in the Caribbean region. Various Latin-American countries and even municipalities have floated large loans in the United States, and there is every reason to believe that the North-American republic rather than Europe will for many years continue to supply the bulk of the foreign capital employed in Latin America. The United States Department of Commerce, the Pan-American Financial Conferences, and the Inter-American High Commission have all been effective agencies in placing these commercial and financial relations on a firm and enduring basis.

Rôle of the United States in Adjustment of Political and Diplomatic Problems. The Colombian Treaty and the Tacna Arica Protocol. The war has resulted, as we have just seen, in multiplying the points of economic contact between the United States and the nations of Latin America. It has also resulted in a new attitude of friendliness toward the United States on the part of her southern neighbors; the words of a prominent Latin-American publicist that "the part the United States has played in this war is the noblest that has ever fallen to any people" represented a sincere and widespread conviction. Fortunately, the present administration at Washington has striven to maintain and even increase this prestige, through the redressing of past wrongs and through the employment of its good offices in the solution of difficulties with which certain of the Latin-American states had grappled in vain. On April 20, 1921, the United States Senate, as the result of the urgings of President Harding and Secretary Hughes, ratified the treaty which since 1914 had been pending with Colombia. This treaty, which was designed to "remove all the misunderstandings growing out of the political events in

Panama in November, 1903, and restore the cordial friendship that formerly characterized the relations" between the United States and Colombia, provided for the payment by the United States to Colombia of twenty-five million dollars. At the same time it placed Colombia in times of peace on an equality with the United States in the transportation of troops, agricultural and pastoral products, and mails through the Panama Canal and over the Panama railroad. In return, Colombia agreed to recognize Panama as an independent nation. Through this belated act of justice the United States has not only secured the good will of Colombia but has vastly enhanced her moral influence throughout all of Latin America.

The inability of Chile and Peru to solve the Tacna-Arica problem has already been noted in the chapters devoted to these republics. In January, 1922, President Harding invited the governments of both South-American countries to send delegates to Washington to devise means of reaching an agreement regarding the unfulfilled terms of the Treaty of Ancón, either by direct negotiations or through recourse to arbitration. Both countries accepted the invitation and their delegates held their first conference on May 15th. When, after a month's discussion, no agreement was in sight, Secretary Hughes in the capacity of mediator suggested a formula which became the basis of the protocol finally adopted on July 15th. This protocol provides for the arbitration of the United States to decide whether the plebiscite stipulated in Article III of the Treaty of Ancón should be carried out or not. In the first instance the President of the United States will determine the conditions governing the plebiscite; in the second case Chile and Peru shall resume negotiations. If still no agreement can be reached, "the two governments will request, to this end, the good office of the government of the United States." The protocol was approved by the Chilean and Peruvian Congresses in the autumn of 1922. Thus through the mediation of the United States a difficulty which for years has envenomed the relations between Chile and Peru, and more than once threatened to precipitate war, seems in a fair way toward settlement.

The successful efforts of the United States to inaugurate a new era in Central-American relations have already been touched upon.

Some Outstanding Present-Day Problems. While the progress thus far made in placing the relations between the United States and her sister republics on a satisfactory basis is most gratifying, it can hardly be doubted that the Great War has created or rendered more acute certain problems whose solution is indispensable, if these moral gains are not to be lost and the present feeling of cordiality and good will is not to give way to suspicion and distrust. Among these problems perhaps the most baffling is the relation of the League of Nations to the Monroe Doctrine. The place of this cardinal principle of American diplomacy in the new dispensation was indicated by President Wilson in his address to Congress on January 22, 1917, in which he proposed that "the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." This idea was embodied in Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, by which "the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external oppression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League."

As is well known, Article X was the object of bitter attack in the United States, on the grounds that its acceptance would mean the end of the traditional policy of the United States of isolation and nonentanglement in purely European affairs. It was also asserted that the extension of the Monroe Doctrine to the world would completely alter its character: that it would cease to be the "time-honored, self-protective policy of the United States." In the words of a distinguished American diplomat, such a move would be tantamount to the "betrayal of the Monroe Doctrine."[1]

[1] David Jayne Hill, "The Betrayal of the Monroe Doctrine," *North American Review*, November, 1920.

A discussion of the problem of the abandonment of isolation is largely irrelevant; it is sufficient to point out that this policy of isolation, which antedates the Monroe Doctrine, and in the opinion of many authorities is not synonymous with it, ceased to exist when the United States became a world power. To meet the objection that Article X would deprive the Monroe Doctrine of its American character there was added Article XXI, which declared that nothing in the Covenant "shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." Yet even with this interpretation Article X was unacceptable to many members of the United States Senate, and was one of the chief reasons for the failure of the United States to ratify the peace treaty.

The situation at the present time is in some respects highly anomalous. All the American republics are members of the League of Nations, with the exception of the United States, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Ecuador.[1] By the terms of the Covenant the majority of the Latin-American nations share with each other and with other members of the League certain duties and obligations from which the United States is, through her absence from the League, excluded. By Article X their territorial integrity and political independence are guaranteed by a body of powers, the majority of which are non-American. By Article XIII of the Covenant the members of the League agree to submit all disputes likely to lead to a rupture to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council of the League. Should any of the Latin-American nations belonging to the League decide to submit such disputes to the Council without reference to the United States; or in case of conflicts with other powers elect to appeal to the League for protection by virtue of Article X, the problem would at once arise as to whether or not the United States would abandon the Monroe Doctrine to the extent of permitting a body

[1] The delegates of Argentina withdrew from the Assembly of the League at Geneva in 1921, because their proposed amendments to the League's Constitution were not accepted. Argentina, however, still considers herself a member.

of powers to which she did not belong to settle controversies to which other American states were parties. In view of the fact that the Monroe Doctrine is still regarded as the corner stone of the foreign policy of the United States, the answer can hardly be doubted.

Various ways out of this dilemma have been suggested. The adherence of the United States to the League of Nations would undoubtedly clarify the situation, although the exact relations of Article X and Article XXI would still have to be defined. A project broached by President Balthazar Brum in a notable address delivered in the University of Montevideo in April, 1920, aroused much favorable comment at the time and holds out interesting possibilities for the future. Dr. Brum advocated an "American League" formed on the basis of the absolute equality of all the associated countries. This league would consider jointly all American problems and would undertake to defend each of the members against aggression from Europe or from another American power. All controversies should be submitted to the arbitration of the League. This American League would not be antagonistic to the League of Nations; it might be considered, in fact, as a subcommittee of the latter body for the consideration of purely American questions. The practical results of the acceptance of Dr. Brum's proposal would be the conversion of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American doctrine—a course long advocated by a number of writers and statesmen of both continents. A league such as the Uruguayan President envisaged would not only be a concrete expression of American solidarity but would reflect the vastly enlarged community of interest between the United States and Latin America brought about by the war.

The machinery for such a League might possibly be found in the Pan-American Union, on whose governing board might be conferred the authority to initiate and effect mediation and arbitration. It is of interest to note in this connection that one of the topics to be discussed at the Fifth Pan-American Conference, to be held in Chile in 1923, will be the enlargement of the

scope of the Pan-American Union in relation to the peace and progress of the Western Hemisphere.

On the practical obstacles to the realization of the projects, broached by President Brum at Montevideo and President Wilson at the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, for the merging of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine it is not necessary to dwell. At the present time there is apparently little disposition on the part of the United States government or the American people to share the responsibilities for upholding or enforcing the Monroe Doctrine with even the more advanced of the Latin-American nations. And since these nations feel they no longer need or desire the protection of the United States, there is little disposition on their part—save possibly in the case of Brazil and Uruguay—to assume such obligations and responsibilities. Again—and this point cannot be overemphasized—the essence of Pan-Americanism at least in the eyes of Latin-Americans, is the doctrine of equality and the respect for the sovereignty of even the smallest and weakest of the American republics. Without such equality there can be little mutual confidence, respect, or co-operation. Unfortunately the United States, in spite of the eloquent assurances of some of her most distinguished public men, in spite, too, of her disinterested rôle in the Great War, has failed entirely to convince Latin America of her sincere belief in two of the fundamentals of Pan-Americanism—political equality, and the efficacy of the principle of co-operation as contrasted with the principle of force. As has already been pointed out, one of the greatest obstacles to the growth of the spirit of solidarity is the peculiar relation between the United States and certain of the states in the Caribbean zone. As long as the United States continues to exercise a protectorate or quasi protectorate over these states, the great northern republic will be charged by her sister nations to the south with harboring imperialistic designs on her weaker neighbors. Not until the United States is willing or able to relinquish all idea of hegemony in Central America or the Caribbean will it be possible to convert the Monroe Doctrine into a truly Pan-American Doctrine.

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Chapter I

The Background and Settlement

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CHILE

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Chapter VII

PERU AND BOLIVIA

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Chapter VIII

VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, AND ECUADOR

Venezuela Since Independence.—Brief accounts of the history of Venezuela since independence are given in Dawson, *South American Republics,* Vol. II, pp. 384-399; Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. xvi; García Calderón, *Latin America,* pp. 101-112; J. Humbert, *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuela* (Paris, 1921), pp. 197-211; Akers, *History of South America,* pp. 617-621 (period of Guzmán Blanco); W. L. Scruggs, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics* (Boston, 1910), chs. xiii-xxv (international problems); J. H. Latané, *The United States and Latin America* (New York, 1920), ch. vi ("The two Venezuelan Episodes").

Present-Day Venezuela.—Descriptions of the general features of Venezuela may be found in L. V. Dalton, *Venezuela* (New York, 1912); W. L. Scruggs, *op. cit.,* pp. 192-241; H. Bingham, *The Journal of an Expedition across Venezuela and Colombia* (New Haven, 1909), chs. i-x; H. J. Mozans, *Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena* (New York, 1910), chs. i-vi. The official text of the Constitution of 1914 is available in Spanish in pamphlet form published at Caracas by the Litografía de Comercio, 1919.

Colombia Since Independence.—The history of the Republic of "Great Colombia" is to be found in Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics,* pp. 298-313, and in Dawson, *South American Republics,* Vol. II, pp. 446-452. Accounts of the subsequent period are given by Dawson, *op. cit.,* pp. 452-469; Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. xiv; P. J. Eder, *Colombia* (New York, 1913), ch. v; F. Petre,

Colombia (London, 1906), chs. v, xii, xiii; Humbert, *Histoire de la Colombie et du Vénézuela,* pp. 181-197; S. de la Vega, *La Federación en Colombia* (Madrid, n. d.). From the voluminous literature on the Panama affair may be singled out Latané, *The United States and Latin America,* pp. 182-192; G. H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* ch. iv; J. C. Freehof, *America and the Canal Title* (New York, 1916); H. Arias, *The Panama Canal* (London, 1911); P. Bunau-Varilla, *Panama, the Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection* (New York, 1914).

Present-Day Conditions in Colombia. Constitution and Government.—In addition to the works of Eder, Petre, and Scruggs already mentioned, cf. Bingham, *The Journal of an Expedition Across Venezuela and Colombia,* chs. xi-xv; Mozans, *Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena,* chs. vii-xiv. The most satisfactory account of contemporary economic conditions is P. L. Bell, *Colombia, a Commercial and Industrial Handbook,* Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agent's Series, no. 216 (Washington, 1921). The text of the Constitution of 1886 is given in Rodríguez, *American Constitutions,* Vol. II, pp. 318-377.

Ecuador Since Independence.—The history of Ecuador since independence is briefly treated in Dawson, *South American Republics,* Vol. II, pp. 321-343; Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. xv; García Calderón, *Latin America,* pp. 213-221. García Moreno has been the subject of a number of eulogistic biographies of which the most important is that of Father A. Berthe, *García Moreno, président de l'Equateur, vengeur et martyr du droit chrétien* (Paris, 1888). A graphic description of conditions in Ecuador in the middle of the last century is that of F. Hassaurek, *Four Years Among Spanish-Americans* (London, 1868).

Contemporary Conditions in Ecuador.—The most satisfactory volume on Ecuador is that of C. R. Enoch, *Ecuador* (New York, 1914). To the unfavorable account of Ross, *South of Panama,* ch. i, should be contrasted that of Father Zahm (H. J. Mozans), *Along the Andes and Down the Amazon,* chs. iii-v. The

description of social and political conditions in Quito, by H. C. Franck, *Vagabonding Down the Andes,* ch. vi, may also be read with profit.

Chapter IX

URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

Uruguay Since Independence.—Material in English on the history of Uruguay may be found in W. H. Koebel, *Uruguay* (London, 1911), pp. 97-127; Dawson, *South American Republics,* Vol. I, pp. 259-284; Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. ix.

Present-Day Conditions in Uruguay. Constitution and Government.—The most satisfactory description of the general features of Uruguay is to be found in Koebel, *Uruguay,* pp. 128 ff. Briefer accounts may be found in C. R. Enoch, *The Republics of South and Central America* (London, 1913), pp. 174-183; A. Hale, *The South Americans* (Indianapolis, 1907), pp. 148-179; Bryce, *South America,* ch. x; J. A. Hammerton, *The Real Argentine* (New York, 1915), chs. xx, xxi. An English translation of the Constitution of 1919 by H. G. James is to be found in the *Southwestern Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. I, no. 1 (June, 1920), pp. 95-118.

Paraguay Since Independence.—The history of Paraguay under Francia and the two López is treated at some length in two works by W. H. Koebel, *Paraguay* (London, 1917), chs. ix-xii, and *The Romance of the River Plate* (London, 1914), Vol. II, chs. xix, xxxviii, xxxix; and also in Dawson, *South American Republics,* Vol. I, pp. 188-224, and Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. x. The historical novel of E. L. White, *El Supremo* (New York, 1917), contains an admirable characterization of Francia based on contemporary material. On the Paraguayan War, cf. C. A. Washburn, *The History of Paraguay* (2 vols., 1871), Vol. II, chs. xxxviii-xli; G. L. Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay* (London, 1869); Richard H. Burton, *Letters from the Battlefields of*

Paraguay (London, 1870); Akers, *History of South America,* chs. vii-x.

Present-Day Paraguay.—The most satisfactory accounts of present-day Paraguay are Koebel, *Paraguay;* W. L. Schurz, *Paraguay, A Commercial Handbook,* Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agent's Series, no. 109 (Washington, 1911); A. Posada, *La República del Paraguay* (Madrid, 1911). The Constitution of Paraguay is given in Rodríguez, *American Constitutions,* Vol. II, pp. 381-410.

Chapter X

Mexico

Mexico Since Independence.—The most satisfactory single volume on the history of Mexico is that of H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation, A History* (New York, 1923). Chs. xii-xxvii, deal with the period under survey. Excellent brief surveys are given by R. G. Cleland, *The Mexican Year Book* (Los Angeles, 1922), pp. 36-80; Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* ch. xviii; J. Vasconcelos, "El Problema de México," in *Cuba Contemporánea,* April, 1923 (a remarkable synthesis of Mexican history by a distinguished writer and educator). An interesting and authoritative account of conditions from 1821 to 1848, with special reference to relations with the United States is G. B. Rives, *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848* (2 vols., New York, 1913). Cf. especially Vol. I, chs. ii-iv. Justin Smith, *The War with Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1919), has written what will long be the definitive work on this subject. It should be read, however, in connection with the review by Profesor E. C. Barker in *The American Historical Review,* Vol. XXV, pp. 729-732 (1920). Of special interest are Vol. I, ch. i ("Mexico and the Mexican") and ch. ii ("The Political Education of Mexico"). For the period of the "Wars of Reform" and the French Intervention the most useful accounts are A. H. Noll, *From Empire to Republic,* chs. x-xv; U. R. Burke, *A Life of Benito Juárez*

(London, 1904), chs. iii-xiv; Sarah Y. Stevenson, *Maximilian in Mexico; a Woman's Reminiscences of the French Intervention* (New York, 1899); Latané, *The United States and Latin America,* ch. v; F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward* (New York, 1900), Vol. II, ch. xl. Of the various French works dealing with the Intervention, that of P. Gaulot, *La Verité sur l'Expédition de Mexique* (3 vols., Paris, 1890), is the most satisfactory. Most of the works dealing with the Díaz period are of little value. Among the exceptions may be mentioned J. Creelman, *Díaz, Master of Mexico* (the best of the eulogistic biographies, New York, 1912); D. Hannay, *Díaz* (A fair appreciation by an English writer, in "Makers of the Nineteenth Century Series," New York, 1917); C. L. Jones, *Mexico and Its Reconstruction* (New York, 1921), especially chs. iii-v, xxi-xxv. (An objective scholarly treatment dealing with the period of Díaz and after. Contains a good bibliography.) The material on the period since 1910 is extremely voluminous and much of it ephemeral and prejudiced. The best approach is found in Priestley, *op. cit.,* chs. xxiv-xxvii. Other works worthy of mention are E. L. Bell, *The Political Shame of Mexico* (New York, 1914), (A well-written, sympathetic account of the presidency of Madero); E. D. Trowbridge, *Mexico Today and Tomorrow* (New York, 1919), (A qualified defense of Carranza); E. D. O'Shaughnessy, *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico* (New York, 1916), (Conditions in 1913 and 1914—favorable to Huerta); Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* ch. vi ("Our Recent Relations with Mexico"); G. H. Blakeslee, ed., *Mexico and the Caribbean* (New York, 1920), (a symposium on the Mexican problem). *The Investigation of Mexican Affairs,* conducted by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations (Sen. Doc. 285, 66th Cong., 2d Sess.), though pervaded by a distinct animus against Mexico, contains a great deal of data of value.

Contemporary Conditions. Government and Politics.—Possibly the best survey of present-day conditions is found in the *Mexican Year Book,* ed. by R. G. Cleland. This work not only contains a wealth of statistical data, but includes articles on

such topics as education, commerce, natural resources, etc., by specialists. C. L. Jones, *Mexico and Its Reconstruction,* has excellent chapters on government (chs. iii-v), finance (chs. vi-viii), labor conditions (chs. ix-xii), commerce (chs. xiv-xv). E. A. Ross, *The Social Revolution in Mexico* (New York, 1923), contains excellent chapters on contemporary social and economic problems. Of particular interest to students of government is "The Mexican Constitution of 1917 Compared with the Constitution of 1857," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. LXXI (May, 1917), supplement.

Chapter XI

CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA

The most satisfactory account of both the history and present-day conditions of Central America is that of D. G. Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America* (New York, 1918). The historical development is treated in detail in H. H. Bancroft, *History of Central America* (3 vols., San Francisco, 1883-1890), Vol. III, and briefly in Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations,* pp. 445-477 (includes Panama). Of the extensive literature on the international status of Central America may be noted, in addition to Munro: Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* chs. xii, xiii; C. L. Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States* (New York, 1916), ch. x; W. F. Slade, "The Federation of Central America," *Journal of Race Development,* July, 1917; G. H. Blakeslee, ed., *Mexico and the Caribbean* (New York, 1920), pp. 277-300. Present-day conditions are well described in W. H. Koebel, *Central America* (London, 1917). Brief satisfactory accounts of the government and politics of each of the Central American Republics are given in Munro, *op. cit., passim.* The constitutions of the Central American states, including Panama, are to be found in Rodríguez, *American Constitutions,* Vol. I, pp. 235-422. Unfortunately, the text as given in Rodríguez does not in every case include amendments and certain fundamental laws referring

to such matters as the writ of *amparo,* the declaration of a state of siege, status of foreigners, etc. For these additions it is necessary to recur to the pamphlets (which also contain the constitutions) issued by the governments of Salvador (1914), Honduras (1915), Nicaragua (no date, but subsequent to 1913). For Panama (in addition to the works listed under Colombia), cf. W. F. Johnson, *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal* (New York, 1909), chs. x-xii; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States,* ch. xi; *Encyclopedia of Latin America,* pp. 587-600.

Chapter XII

The Island Republics

Cuba.—No satisfactory history of Cuba exists. A remarkable analysis of the Spanish régime in Cuba is given by Leroy-Beaulieu, *De la colonisation chez les peuples modernes,* Vol. I, pp. 251-269; a briefer account in Keller, *Colonization,* pp. 329-340 (based largely on Leroy-Beaulieu). An interesting and authoritative survey of conditions at the end of the Spanish period and the beginning of the American occupation is C. M. Pepper, *To-Morrow in Cuba* (New York, 1899). The relations between Cuba and the United States are discussed by J. H. Latané, *America as a World Power* (American Nation Series, Vol. XXV, New York, 1907), chs. i-iv, and G. H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* chs. vii-viii. Accounts of present-day conditions are to be found in H. H. Verill, *Cuba Past and Present* (New York, 1914) and F. Lindsay, *Cuba and Her People of To-Day* (Boston, 1911). The Constitution is published in Rodríguez, *American Constitutions,* Vol. I, pp. 112-148. Of special value for the student of government is the article by L. S. Rowe, "Reorganization of Local Government in Cuba," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. XXV, pp. 311-321 (March, 1905); G. H. Stuart, *Cuba and Its International Relations (Institute of International Education, Syllabus* no. xiv, New York, 1923).

The Dominican Republic and Haiti.—Among the works dealing wholly or partly with the island of Santo Domingo may be noted O. Schoenrich, *Santo Domingo* (New York, 1918); Spencer St. John (long British minister to Haiti), *Haiti* (London, 1889); T. L. Stoddard, *The French Revolution in Santo Domingo* (Boston, 1914); J. N. Léger, *Haiti: her History and her Detractors* (New York, 1907), (this last work is an attempt to interpret Haitian history by a Haitian). On present-day conditions and the relations of the two island republics to the United States, cf. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* chs. x, xi; Jones, *Caribbean Interests of the United States,* chs. viii, ix; C. Kelsey, "The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. C, no. 189 (March, 1922), pp. 109-200; G. H. Blakeslee, ed., *Mexico and the Caribbean* (New York, 1920), pp. 184-276. An immense amount of valuable data is to be found in the United States Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo, *Hearings* (2 vols., Washington, 1922), (of especial interest is statement of Rear-Admiral Caperton, Vol. I, pp. 325 ff.).

Chapter XIII

The International Relations of Latin America

General Works.—The three most useful books dealing wholly or largely with the international status of the Latin-American Republics are W. S. Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, New York, 1923); Latané, *The United States and Latin America;* Stuart, *Latin America and the United States.* All contain important bibliographical material.

The Recognition of the Latin-American States.—Detailed account of the recognition of the new states by the United States is given by Paxson, *The Independence of the Spanish-American Republics.* Briefer accounts are found in Latané, *Latin America*

and the United States, ch. ii; J. B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism; Its Beginnings* (New York, 1920), chs. iv, v.

The Monroe Doctrine.—The most satisfactory guide to the voluminous literature on the Monroe Doctrine is H. H. B. Meyer, *List of References on the Monroe Doctrine* (Washington, 1919). Excellent brief appreciations of the Doctrine may be found in W. S. Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations,* ch. iv; Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* ch. ii; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1915), ch. xvii; Latané, *The United States and Latin America,* chs. ii, ix; H. W. V. Temperley, *Life of Canning* (London, 1905), ch. x. Cf. also a symposium on the Monroe Doctrine in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. LIV, pp. 1-133 (July, 1914). For longer accounts, cf. A. B. Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine* (New York, 1916); T. B. Edginton, *The Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1905).

Pan-Americanism.—The best account of the origin and early development of the Pan-American movement is Lockey, *Pan-Americanism,* especially chs. x, xi. Brief account of the movement will be found in Latané, *The United States and Latin America,* ch. viii; Stuart, *Latin America and the United States,* ch. i; Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States,* ch. x; P. S. Reinsch, *Public International Unions* (Boston, 1911), ch. iii; C. L. Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, 1917), chs. iv-v; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1916), ch. xxvii; J. B. Moore, *The Principles of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1918), ch. x. Cf. also S. G. Inman, *Problems in Pan-Americanism* (New York, 1921), especially chs. iii, vi, ix, x. Among the numerous articles and pamphlets dealing with this subject may be mentioned *The New Pan-Americanism* (World Peace Foundation, Pamphlet Series, Vol. VI, nos. 1, 2; Vol. VII, no. 1; February and April, 1916, February, 1917. Contains important documents); G. H. Blakeslee, "True Pan-Americanism," *Journal of Race Development,* (January, 1917); J. B. Scott, "American Solidarity," *American Journal of International Law,* Vol. XIV (October, 1920), pp.

598 ff; P. A. Martin, *The Second Pan-American Financial Conference, Hispanic-American Historical Review,* Vol. III, no. 2 (May, 1920).

Other Phases of Latin-American International Relations.—M. W. Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy* (deals with the diplomatic background of the Panama Canal, Washington, 1916); L. S. Rowe, "Latin America as a Factor in International Relations," in *The History and Nature of International Relations,* ed. by E. A. Walsh (New York, 1922), pp. 203-215; C. M. Pepper, *American Foreign Trade* (New York, 1919), chs. xii-xvi (an excellent introduction to a study of commercial relations between Latin America and the United States); N. Filsinger, *Trading with Latin America* (New York, 1917); cf. also the works of Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations;* Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances.*

The World War and After.—Brief account of the reaction of the Latin American to the war are given by P. A. Martin, *Latin America and the War (League of Nations,* Vol. II, no. iv, August, 1919); F. A. Kirkpatrick, *South America and the War* (London, 1918); *The Times History of the War* (London, 1918), Vol. XV, ch. ccxxii; G. Gaillard, *Amérique latine et Europe occidentale; l'Amérique latine et la guerre* (Paris, 1918); C. H. Haring, *The Germans in South America* (Washington, 1920); *The Brazilian Green Book* (translation of official documents, London, 1918); B. J. Pérez Verdía, "La situación internacional de la Argentina ante la diplomacia y el derecho," *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras* (October, 1918); Beltran Mathieu, "The Neutrality of Chile during the European War," *The American Journal of International Law,* Vol. XIV, no. iii; Alejandro Alvarez, *La grande guerre européene et la neutralité de Chile* (Paris, 1915); J. B. de Lavalle, *El Perú y la grande guerra* (Lima, 1919); References to the results of the conflict as affecting Latin America, and other post-war developments, may be found in S. G. Inman, *Problems in Pan-Americanism,* ch. vii; Julius Klein, "The Monroe Doctrine as a Regional Understanding," *Pan-American Union Bulletin* (February 19, 1921); W. E.

Dunn, "The Post-War Attitude of Hispanic America toward the United States," *The Hispanic-American Historical Review,* Vol. III, no. ii (May, 1920); R. S. Naón, "European War and Pan-Americanism," *Columbia University Quarterly,* Vol. XXI, pp. 85 ff. (April, 1919); A. B. Hall, *The Monroe Doctrine and the Great War* (Chicago, 1920); J. Warshaw, *The New Latin America* (New York, 1922).

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